

HISTORY
OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.
FROM
ITS COMMENCEMENT,
TO THE
RESTORATION OF CHARLES THE SECOND.
BY WILLIAM GODWIN.

TO ATTEND TO THE NEGLECTED, AND TO REMEMBER THE FORGOTTEN.

BURKE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.
CONTAINING THE CIVIL WAR.

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PREFACE.

CUM TABULIS ANIMUM CENSORIS SUMET HONESTI. *HOR.*

THERE is no part of the history of this island which has been so inadequately treated, as the characters and acts of those leaders, who had for the most part the direction of the public affairs of England from 1640 to 1660. The men who figured during the Interregnum, were, immediately after the Restoration, spoken of with horror, and their memoirs were composed after the manner of the Newgate Calendar. What was begun from party-rage, has been continued from indolence. No research has been exercised; no public measures have been traced to their right authors; even the succession of judges, public officers, and statesmen, has been left in impenetrable confusion*. It is the object of the present

* One instance, out of hundreds that might be selected, occurs in Dugdale, a plodding and laborious collector of records and dates :

PREFACE.

work to remedy this defect, to restore the just tone of historical relation on the subject, to attend to the neglected, to remember the forgotten, and to distribute an impartial award on all that was planned and achieved during this eventful period.

If there be any semblance of truth in the dictum of Warburton, that, “when Cromwel subdued his country, the spirit of liberty was at its height, and its interests were conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government that the world ever saw embarked together in one common

That author in a book entitled *Origines Juridiciales*, to which is appended a copious table of the succession of judges and public officers, when he comes to this period, interrupts his detail, and leaving one extensive blank, inscribes on the page, *DOMINANTE PERDUEL-LIONE JUSTITIUM*, in other words, *Murder being triumphant, there was a suspension of order and law*. As if that period was not adorned with able men and enlightened ministers of justice, or as if its judges and public functionaries did not form the subject of as laudable curiosity, as their predecessors and successors in office. In like manner the compilers of peerages, when they touch upon such persons of elevated birth as took part in the opposition to king Charles or in the affairs of the Commonwealth, pass them over with all imaginable celerity, believing that the heirs of their titles would blush to be told, that their progenitors ranked among the advocates of the rights of mankind.

'cause*," it follows that, till the interval in which they flourished has been adequately developed, and their proceedings have been related in the language of sobriety and justice, the character of our countrymen can never be fully understood, and the history of England can never be written. To fill up this chasm in our annals, has been the purpose of the present undertaking:

The book I here publish is the production of my mature life; and I wish the principle upon which it is formed to be thoroughly understood. It relates to a great and interesting topic, a series of transactions perhaps not to be surpassed in importance by any thing that has occurred on the theatre of the world. I have no desire to be thought to look upon such transactions with indifference. I have no desire to be regarded as having no sentiments or emotions, when any thing singularly good or singularly evil passes under my review. I wish to be considered as feeling as well as thinking. If to treat good and evil

as things having no essential difference, be impartiality, such impartiality I disavow.

I will inform my readers what impartiality I aim at, and consider as commendable. Its essence consists in a fair and severe examination of evidence, and the not suffering any respect of persons, or approbation of a cause, to lead the writer to misapprehend or misrepresent the nature of facts. If I have failed in this, I desire to be considered as guilty of a breach of the genuine duties of an historian; or, to speak in plainer terms, of what I owe to my own character, and to the best interests of the human race. If I have not failed in this, I claim to obtain a verdict of Not guilty. I have endeavoured to write with sobriety and a collected mind. I have endeavoured to guard myself against mere declamation, and that form of language in which passion prevails to the obscuring of judgment. I have spoken no otherwise of men and things, than I should wish to speak in the presence of an omniscient judge. I have been anxious to pronounce on all in the atmosphere of a true discrimination, and in the temper of an

honest and undebauched sense of moral right.

It is at this time almost universally granted, and will more fully appear in the following pages, that the opponents of Charles the First fought for liberty, and that they had no alternative. I proceed upon these two positions. Let them be granted me; and I fear no charge of false colouring in what follows. If the events of which I treat had preceded the Universal Deluge, or passed in the remotest island of the South Sea, that ought to make me sober, deliberate and just in my decisions: it ought not to make me indifferent to human rights, improvement or happiness. The nearness or remoteness of the scene in respect of place or time, is a consideration of comparatively inferior magnitude: I wish to be wholly unaffected by the remembrance, that the events took place about a century previous to my birth, and occurred on the very soil where my book is written.

With respect to the materials of my history I have not much to remark. I trust it will not be found, that I have neglected any ac-

PREFACE.

cessible means of information, or that I have been wanting in industry, and the careful sifting and examination of authorities. My most copious source of knowledge and certainty has been of a very obvious kind, the Journals of the Two Houses of Parliament. I was at first astonished to find that this source had been so little explored : but afterwards I perceived the cause. The Journals of the Commons were not put in print till 1742 ; nor those of the Lords till 1767 ; too late to allow of their being incessantly consulted by Hume and our most considerable historians.

I am much deceived, if there will not be found a great degree of novelty in the following pages. Yet I do not even fear to be charged with betraying a love of singularity. The principal sources of my novelty are, first, patient industry and investigation, and secondly, a determination to look at the facts themselves, undisturbed by the glosses of party-writers.

I cannot close these few pages of introduction without acknowledging myself indebted for many valuable hints to the late work of my friend, Mr. George Brodie, entitled

A History of the British Empire from the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration.

February 10, 1824.

Upon a revisal of my printed sheets, I feel dissatisfied with the Second and Tenth Chapters of the ensuing volume, as not being sufficiently calculated to carry on the attention of the reader. The Second contains matters of dry, and minute information, but which seemed necessary at the root and setting off of the narrative which follows. The statements of the Tenth Chapter I should not have despaired of rendering agreeable without subtracting from what is essential in its contents, if I had had the opportunity of rewriting that portion of my History. Other defects in the volume I leave to the sagacity of my readers.

ERRATA.

Page 87, line 29. *for* 1638, *read* 1628
90, line 1. *for* These, *read* There
348, line 7. *for* he, *read* the

CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION.	1
CHAPTER I.	
Founders of the commonwealth.—Coke.—Selden.—Hampden.—Pym.	7
CHAPTER II.	
Beginnings of the commonwealth.—First examples of a power to appoint to offices, civil and military, exercised by the parliament.—Committee of safety.—Army raised under the earl of Essex.—Campaign of 1642.—Negociations at Oxford.	18
CHAPTER III.	
Proceedings on the subject of religion.—Difference of opinions respecting church-government.—Abolition of the votes of the bishops.—Bill for the abolishing episcopacy passes the two houses.—Stage-plays suppressed.—Monuments of idolatry destroyed.—Case of lord Strafford. . . .	41
CHAPTER IV.	
Campaign of 1643.—Officers.—Essex.—Hampden.—Waller. . Skippon. — Fairfax. — Cromwel. — Death of Hampden.— Charles denounces the two houses not a free parliament. —Waller defeated.—Bristol surrenders to the king. . . .	97

CHAPTER V.

- Parliament prepares for the defence of London.—Declaration of the king.—Fluctuations of the house of lords.—Mentary irresolution of the commons.—Succeeded by firmness.—King marches against Gloucester.—The cause is saved. 119

CHAPTER VI.

- Siege of Gloucester.—Raised by Essex.—Battle of Newbury.—Battle of Horncastle.—The armies go into winter-quarters. 145

CHAPTER VII.

- State of Scotland.—Negociations with the English malcontents and the parliament.—Motives of the king's journey thither.—Hampden and Fiennes sent to Edinburgh.—The incident.—Embassy of Vane to the parliament of Scotland.—Solemn league and covenant.—Assembly of divines.—The covenant ratified in England. 160

CHAPTER VIII.

- Elements of the king's army.—Character of Rupert.—Of the marquis of Hertford.—Discountenance shewn to the fugitive lords, Holland, Bedford, and Clare, at Oxford.—Characters of the brother-carls, Warwick and Holland.—The fugitives return and submit to the parliament.—A new great-seal made for the service of the parliament.—Courts of justice restored.—Embassy to Holland.—Fiennes condemned to death for the surrender of Bristol.—Pardoned. 182

CHAPTER IX.

- State of Ireland.—Administration of Strafford.—Projects for bringing over an army of Irish to support the king.—Commissions of sir Phelim O'Neile and others.—Insurrection.—Massacre.—Spread of the rebellion in different parts of Ireland. 213

CHAPTER X.

- Proceedings in Great Britain on the subject of the Irish rebellion.—King proposes to take the command in Ireland.—Catholic supreme government at Kilkenny.—Negociations of Antrim and Montrose.—Cessation of arms in Ireland.—Charles obtains reinforcements from that country. . . . 245

CHAPTER XI.

- Preparations of the Scots to assist the forces of the English parliament.—Antrim and Montrose at Oxford.—Imprisonment of the duke of Hamilton.—Anti-parliament at Oxford.—Changes introduced in the university of Cambridge. 285

CHAPTER XII.

- Commencement of the campaign of 1644.—Scots enter England.—Siege of York.—Marches of the king.—Fight at Cropredy Bridge.—Battle of Marston Moor.—Retreat of Rupert.—Newcastle goes into voluntary exile.—Surrender of York.—Queen retires into France. 313

CHAPTER XIII.

- Character of the independents.—Constitution and character of the assembly of divines.—Five systems or conceptions with regard to church-government: Popery, diocesan episcopacy, presbyterianism, independency, and Erastianism.—Character of the independent clergy.—Controversies.—Milton.—Question of toleration debated.—Negociation of the king with the independents. 333

CHAPTER XIV.

- Dissentions among the parliamentary officers.—Essex marches for the west.—Exploits of Blake in the defence of Lime.—King marches against Essex.—Character of the inhabitants of Cornwall.—Charles tries to corrupt the fidelity of Essex.—Essex's troops lay down their arms. 361

CHAPTER XV.

Second battle of Newbury.—Manchester and Cromwel.—Skeldon Crawford.—Cromwel prefers a charge against the latter.—Enquiry into the affair at Dennington Castle.—Recrimination between Manchester and Cromwel.—Hollis.—Cromwel accused as an incendiary.—Essex and Waller.—Circumstances favourable to the royal cause.—Self-denying ordinance.—Passes the commons.—Is rejected by the lords.—New model of the army.—Fairfax and Cromwel.—Second self-denying ordinance, retrospective only in its provisions. 375

CHAPTER XVI.

Treaty of Uxbridge.—Trial and execution of Macmahon, Macguire, Carew, and the Hothams.—Attainder of Laud. 414

CHAPTER XVII.

Beginning of the campaign of 1645.—Dissoluteness of the king's forces.—The clubmen.—Siege of Taunton, defended by Blake.—Exploits of Montrose.—His barbarities. 434

CHAPTER XVIII.

Hopes with which Charles took the field.—Inactivity of the Scots under Leven.—Leicester stormed by the king's forces.—Character of Fairfax's army.—Iretou.—King defeated in the decisive battle of Naseby. 457

CHAPTER XIX.

Charles at Ragland Castle.—Siege of Taunton raised.—Battle of Langport.—Surrender of Bridgwater.—Hereford besieged by the Scots.—Inflexibility of the king.—Proceeds northward as far as Doncaster.—Montrose victorious at Kilsyth.—Glasgow and Edinburgh submit to him.—Bristol surrenders to the parliament.—Montrose defeated.—King and Rupert at Newark.—Mutinous proceedings.—Charles winters at Oxford 470

HISTORY

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

THE History of the Commonwealth of England constitutes a chapter in the records of mankind, totally unlike any thing that can elsewhere be found. How nations and races of men are to be so governed as may be most conducive to the improvement and happiness of all, is one of the most interesting questions that can be offered to our consideration. What are the advantages or disadvantages that result from placing the reins of power and the guidance of the state ostensibly in a single hand, in a race of kings, is a problem which every friend of man would wish to have thoroughly examined. In ancient history we have various examples of republics established on the firmest foundation, and which seemed in several respects eminently to do credit to that form of government. In modern times the republican ad-

INTRODUC-
TION.

Uses of this
History.

INTRODUC-
TION.

ministration of a state has been chiefly confined to governments with a small territory; the Commonwealth of England is the memorable experiment in which that scheme of affairs has been tried upon a great nation.

Two parties
among the
opposers of
prerogative.

The war between the king and the parliament had now continued for more than two years, when a memorable difference began to manifest itself among the leaders of the anti-royalist party. It seemed unavoidable that some change should take place in the constitution of the government. Such is the consequence annexed to civil broils, which cannot be expected to terminate but in the acquisition of some ascendancy to one of the parties. The king, and those of his friends who were entirely with him, held, that it was proper to lay aside the use of parliaments. Charles, as will more fully appear in the sequel, never made a concession to the popular cause, but with a reserve in his own mind, the secret imputation of some defect in the mode in which the proceeding originated, in consequence of which the concession was in its own nature null, and at a convenient season might so be declared ^a. Those persons, such as Hampden and Pym, who first engaged in an open resistance to the king's claims, required that the power of the sword should be taken out of his hands, and that the regulation of

the army, and the superintendence of all forts and castles, should be in the parliament. This assumption stands in the front of all the propositions for peace that were at any time offered by them.

INTRODUC-
TION.

So long as the struggle between the authority of the king and of the legislative assembly continued to be in any degree in balance, here was a question powerful enough to animate the zeal of their respective adherents. But, before the close of the year 1644, it became sufficiently evident that the party which had borne arms against the sovereign, would have the power to mould all affairs at their pleasure. The question therefore forced itself upon consideration, How was this to be done? Were the opponents of the prince to rest contented with the demands which had preceded the war, or were they to require something more?

A war between the king and the nation, or its representatives, necessarily led men to a scrutiny into the first principles of government. The admission of one man, either hereditarily, or for life only, into the place of chief of a country, is an evidence of the infirmity of man. Nature has set up no difference between a king and other men; a king therefore is purely the creation of our own hands. The immense distance which is thus interposed between him and every other member of the community is a matter of no inconsiderable note. Human infirmity may render the existence of the office advantageous to general

Rise of the
republicans.

INTRODUC- interest ; but that it does so, is a reflection "calcu-
TION.
lated to humble our vanity.

Ideas like these unavoidably obtruded themselves into the minds of men engaged in a long and somewhat doubtful resistance against the incroachments and excesses of kingly power : and the result could not be otherwise, than that some men of a more cautious and unadventuring character, would be desirous as far as possible of retaining the elements of the old government, while others, more speculative and daring, would be anxious to seize so favourable an opportunity for reducing the state of their country to such a condition, as seemed in their eyes most agreeable to the simple dictates of reason. The more moderate and timid party allowed that the king must be limited, in a way in which none of his predecessors had ever been limited : the bolder and the more adventurous set were ready to allege, If the king must be an officer such as has never yet existed in England, why should we not go a step farther, set him aside altogether, and try an experiment which seems to us to promise consequences infinitely more beneficial ?

Difference
in practice
between the
parties.

Thus far all was speculation merely ; but it did not rest here. The misfortune was, that those who desired the preservation of the kingly office, and that Charles Stuart should still fill the English throne, were obliged to look to the individual, and to desire that he should not be too far

humbled. The two parties which had engaged in the war against the king, but which now at least appeared to have very different views, were known among their contemporaries by the names of Presbyterians and Independents. If the king were entirely put down in the field, if he became a prisoner in the hands of his adversaries, this might seem to give an undue advantage to the independent or republican party. The presbyterians were desirous of treating with him, and that while he yet retained to a certain degree the symbols and outward shew of the station to which he had been destined by his birth. They were accused of not being eager to put a speedy termination to the war; and the charge thus made against them, could not be altogether without foundation.

INTRODUC-
TION.

Such was the precise state of the feelings of the two parties about the close of the year 1644; and it is of the republicans or commonwealths-men that it is the purpose of this work specially to treat. They were a set of men new in this country; and they may be considered as having become extinct at the Revolution in 1688. It will not be the object of these pages to treat them, as has so often been done, with indiscriminate contumely. They were many of them, men of liberal minds, and bountifully endowed with the treasures of intellect. That their enterprise terminated in miscarriage is certain; and a falling party is seldom spoken of with sobriety or moderation by the party that is victorious. Their en-

Spirit of the
following
work.

INTRODUC-
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terprise might be injudicious : the English intellect and moral feeling were probably not sufficiently ripe for a republican government : it may be, that a republican government would at no time be a desirable acquisition for the people of this country. But the men may be worthy of our admiration, whose cause has not prospered ; and the tragic termination of a tale will often not on that account render the tale less instructive, or less interesting to a sound and judicious observer.

But the present work calls itself a History ; and the author will not knowingly suffer it in any respect to forfeit that appellation. “Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice,” is a text that shall be for ever before his eyes. Neither royalist, nor presbyterian, nor republican, shall be described by him as pure or corrupt, till his character and his actions shall have been carefully scrutinised.

Rise and
fall of the
republi-
cans.

The republican party in England dates its origin from the early campaigns of the civil war, and did not become wholly extinct till the Revolution in 1688. But, as a party having an important influence in political affairs, their extinction may be referred to the period of the Restoration. Their indications of life afterwards were feeble and fitful, like the final flashes and struggles of an expiring flame. Their title to a distinct consideration in history seems to close with the Restoration, and the investigations of these pages shall pursue them no farther.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH. — COKE. —
SELDEN. — HAMPDEN. — PYM.

ENGLAND was eminently fertile in political genius in the period which immediately preceded the civil war. One of the profoundest characters of this time was sir Edward Coke, and the peculiarities of his mind seem never to have been sufficiently appreciated. Selden was the wonder and admiration of all his contemporaries. And Hampden and Pym, the former of these particularly, were fully entitled to rank with these illustrious personages.

CHAP.
I.

Sir Edward Coke seems to be universally admitted to be the great oracle of the laws of England. He rose through the various stations of speaker of the house of commons, solicitor general, attorney general, chief justice of the common pleas, and chief justice of the king's bench, by merit only, without employing, in the progress of his elevation, as he himself expressed it, "either prayers or pence." It was his saying, when the duties of that high office were not so well ascertained as they have since been, that "a judge

Character of
sir Edward
Coke.

CHAP.

I.

should neither take nor give a bribe." Sir Edward Coke had the honour to be the first great lawyer, who set himself in opposition to the enormous prerogatives then claimed by the crown. Having in 1615 and 1616 thwarted king James in his unlimited pretensions three several times, he was in the latter of these years removed from the place of chief justice of the king's bench, lord chancellor Ellesmere affirming to him on the occasion that he was too popular for a judge^a. In the parliament of 1621 he took a spirited part in the debates against arbitrary imprisonment; and when that assembly was dissolved, he was committed to the Tower, his papers and securities seized, and a suit was commenced against him by the crown for a pretended debt of thirty thousand pounds. But the last great act of sir Edward

^a Roger Coke, *Detection*, *sub anno*. It is commonly believed that lord Bacon wrote a cruel and insulting letter to him at the period of his dismissal, and this letter has repeatedly been printed. But the sentiments of it are none of them Bacon's. The writer commends sir Edward Coke for his opposition to the court: "We thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the commonwealth's behalf; and in this we pray for your prosperity:" so would not lord Bacon. The letter-writer says: "If at length by means of our good endeavours and yours, you recover the favour that you have lost, give God the glory." Lord Bacon certainly was not the man, who would have endeavoured, or have pretended to endeavour, the restoration of sir Edward Coke to his office. His animosity to the great lawyer was vehement, but undisguised. The letter in question was probably a malicious lampoon, composed by

Coke's life was the framing the Petition of Right, which was endued with the form of a law in the parliament of 1628. The purpose of this measure was, to forbid the imposing any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax, to the king, without the authority of parliament, to declare that no subject shall be detained in prison without having the power to claim his deliverance by due course of law, to abolish the arbitrary billeting of soldiers, and to condemn the proceeding against any of the subjects of the realm by martial law during a time of peace. Sir Edward Coke was fourscore years of age at the time of passing this law, and he lived six years longer. It is impossible to review these proceedings, without feeling that the liberties of Englishmen are perhaps to no man so deeply indebted as to sir Edward Coke.

one of the courtiers of the day. It was first printed in the Second Part of the *Calala*, published in 1654; and the mistake which has since prevailed, seems to have arisen from the accidentally repeating the running-title, "Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Edward Coke," from the preceding page. It is without a signature in this collection, and was not printed as Bacon's till it was inserted in the collection of Robert Stephens in 1702 [*Letters of Sir Francis Bacon*, 4to]. Wilson [*Life of James, the First*] gives an extract of it in 1653, with this introduction: "While Sir Edward was under this cloud, all his faults were ripped up, either by his enemies, or his well-wishers, who advise him to be humbled for this visitation." Wilson therefore had no suspicion that the letter was the composition of Bacon. —The subject of this note is of importance to the character of lord Bacon, but of none to that of sir Edward Coke.

CHAP.

I.

Character
of Selden.

John Selden has been frequently mentioned as the most learned man that this country ever produced. He early rendered himself obnoxious to the court, by his *History of Tithes* published in 1618. He was imprisoned, with other advocates of the public cause, in 1621, and again in 1629. The description given of him by Clarendon is such, that it would be in vain to attempt any thing more complete. "Mr. Selden was a person, whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy and affability were such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts. His style in writing is harsh and sometimes obscure; but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde [the writer of this character] was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more, than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young^b." Selden survived to

^b *Life of Clarendon by Himself*, p. 16. See also his character by Ben Jonson: *Underwoods*, No. 31.

1654, but passed the last years of his life principally in retirement.

John Hampden was one of the most extraordinary men in the records of mankind. The first thing related of him does not tend to impress us with so high an idea of the rank of his mind, as must be excited in every impartial observer by his subsequent conduct. In the summer of 1637 he embarked, with Pym, Cromwel, sir Arthur Haselrig, and one or two more of the patriots of the day, with the intention of spending the remainder of his life in New England^c. A much

CHAP.
I.

Character
of Hamp-
den.

^c Chalmers, *Annals* of the United Colonies, p. 160. Hume says, that Hampden "resolved to fly to the other extremity of the globe, where he and his friends might enjoy lectures and discourses of any length or form which pleased them." If by this observation he means, that Hampden was entirely in earnest in his religious creed, and that one of the motives of his meditated emigration might be, that he and his friends might escape from the perpetual obtrusion of such a parish priesthood as shall presently be described* (see the following Chapter), and the endless droning repetition of the Book of Homilies, and from a country where episcopal tyranny reigned without limits, and toleration was as yet unknown, it is probable that Hampden was worthy of the censure here pronounced against him.

Further on Hume says, "The prevalence of the presbyterian sect in the parliament discovered itself from the beginning, by insensible, but decisive symptoms. Marshal and Burgess, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length." The answer to this reflection is simple. The most considerable of the parliament sermons were printed, and I believe there is scarcely one of them that would occupy more than one hour in the delivery.

CHAP.

I.

inferior degree of discernment to that which he afterwards displayed, ought to have shewn him, that the posture of affairs at home was rapidly advancing to that condition, which the constitution of his mind most peculiarly fitted him to grapple with. It is indeed seldom that it can be the duty of a good citizen to go into voluntary banishment from his country.

The government of king Charles however interfered in the form of an embargo, and prevented the execution of his purpose. Hampden immediately chose his part. From this moment he dismissed the thought of a solitary and retired existence, and became a citizen after the purest model. He was in point of family and property one of the first men in his county; but, till now, he had been but little known out of that narrow circle. Of all the grievances of which the people at this time complained, that which produced the most striking effect was the arbitrary imposition of ship-money. Hampden's estate was assessed to this tax in the amount of twenty shillings. He refused to pay the sum demanded; and accordingly the question came to be solemnly argued before the judges of England. The argument occupied a space of twelve days: and a decision was finally given against Hampden, eight of the judges pronouncing for the crown, and four against it. But, as Clarendon observes, "the judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced him,

than, it did the service for which it was given. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money : but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who and what he was, that durst," at the risque of the vengeance of a court, distinguished for its unrelenting and vindictive character, "support the liberty and property of the kingdom^d."

Yet all this was nothing, if he had not possessed qualities, the most singularly adapted to the arduous situation in which he stood. He possessed judgment ; all men came to learn from him, and it could not be discerned that he learned from any one. He was modest ; he was free from the least taint of overbearing and arrogance ; he commonly spoke last, and what he said was of such a nature that it could not be mended. He won the confidence of all ; and every man trusted him. His courage was of the firmest sort, equally consummate in council and the field. All men's eyes were fixed upon him ; he was popular and agreeable in all the intercourses of life ; he was endowed with a most discerning spirit, and the greatest insinuation and address to bring about whatever he desired. What crowned the rest, was the prevailing opinion of him as a just man, and that "his affections seemed to be so publicly

^d History of the Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 265.

CHAP.
I

guided, that no corrupt and private ends could bias them^e." He was, as Clarendon observes, "possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew^e." Indeed all the above features of character are extracted from the noble historian, being only separated from the tinge of party, and the personal animosity, which misguided his pen.

When the long parliament met in November 1640, every one looked to him, as "their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it^f." The firm and decisive proceedings indeed with which that assembly commenced, afford no equivocal testimony to the genius by which they must have been directed. Soon after its meeting, Strafford and Laud were committed by it to prison, and several of the king's other ministers fled. A negotiation was then opened for an agreement between the contending parties, and Charles entertained a proposition for appointing Pym chancellor of the exchequer, Hampden tutor to the prince of Wales, and the other popular leaders to the principal offices of government^g. This negotiation failed. It would be an enquiry, rather curious than useful, to settle what sort of charac-

^e History of the Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 265, 266.

^f Ibid.

^g Whitlocke, p. 41.

ter Charles the second, who was now little more than ten years of age, would have been, if the cares of Hampden had been directed to the unfolding and guiding his dispositions. The nomination however may tend to instruct us in the sentiments of the great English patriot; he seems to have preferred the task of forming a future king, to the more immediate exercise of any of the great functions of government.

Meanwhile the unhappy and misjudging sovereign dismissed the thought of moderate measures, and proceeded in that rash course which led to his final catastrophe. The most ill-advised of all his actions was his accusing and demanding the five members, with Hampden at their head, to be delivered up to him by the house of commons in the fulness of its popularity and power. From this moment, as Clarendon says, the temper of the man seemed to be "much altered^h;" he saw what he had to expect, and what sort of an enemy he had to deal with; and he chose his part with the same characteristic firmness and decision, which he had displayed, when four or five years before he was interrupted in his intended voyage to New England.

Of Pym it seems enough to say, that he divided with Hampden the cares of conducting on this memorable occasion the cause of the people of

Character
of Pym.

^h Vol. III, p. 266.

CHAP.

I.

England, and that neither appeared in the parliamentary proceedings to be before or after the other. He must have been a man of high qualities, who was the match, and in a manner the equal, of such a one as Hampden is handed down to us. He combined in his own person the most accurate research, and the most perfect talent for the arranging and conducting of business, with an intellect, not subdued by the fulness in which he possessed the knowledge of precedents and approved practice, but of the highest courage and the utmost firmness that were to be found even in those extraordinary times. His eloquence was manly, yet impressive. On the last day of Strafford's trial, he made "in half an hour one of the most eloquent, wise and free speeches," says an ear-witness, "that we ever heard, or I think shall ever hear. I believe the king [he was present] never heard a lecture of so free language against his idolised prerogative¹."

Hampden and Pym were both lost to the public cause in the year 1643, Hampden having died in June, and Pym in December^k. There is no

¹ Baillie, Letters, Vol. I, p. 291.

^k It is perhaps scarcely worth observing, that the death of Pym is dated in the May of this year by Baker's Chronicle, 1660, and, which is more extraordinary, in Whitlocke's Memorials, a book purporting to be a sort of daily journal of events, and which was first published in 1682. The date in the text is supported by Pym's Funeral Sermon, and the Parliamentary Journals.

consideration in human affairs of greater magnitude than death ; it is little indeed of himself that an illustrious man leaves behind him, particularly if his vocation has been public life. England and the common cause must now look to other guides and other counsels.

CHAP.

I.

The immediate successors of these men were Vane, St. John, and Cromwel.

Names of
their suc-
cessors.

Next after the men, who, by their extraordinary talents, and intellectual energies, so greatly contributed to produce that state of things which makes the subject of the present history, should be placed those of the prime nobility of the land, who, from the beginning of the civil war, took part against the king. Among these were, Algernon Percy earl of Northumberland, Robert Devereux earl of Essex, Robert Rich earl of Warwick, Henry Rich earl of Holland his brother, William Russell earl of Bedford, Edward Montagu earl of Manchester, Philip Herbert earl of Pembroke, Basil Fielding earl of Denbigh, William Cecil earl of Salisbury, John Hollis earl of Clare, Henry Grey earl of Stamford, William Fiennes viscount Say, Robert Greville lord Brooke, John Roberts lord Roberts, and Philip Wharton lord Wharton.

Peers en-
gaged in
the war
against the
king.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNINGS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.—FIRST
 EXAMPLES OF A POWER TO APPOINT TO OFFICES,
 CIVIL AND MILITARY, EXERCISED BY
 THE PARLIAMENT.—COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.
 —ARMY RAISED UNDER THE EARL OF ESSEX.
 —CAMPAIGN OF 1642.—NEGOCIATIONS AT OXFORD.

CHAP.
 II.

THE term, the Commonwealth, may be considered in two senses. It may be understood speculatively, as referring to the proceedings of those men who absolutely desired to abolish kingship in England; and their ascendancy began to display itself in the close of the year 1644. Or it may be referred in a looser interpretation, to that state of things in which the legislature assumed to itself the right of fixing on the persons who should fill situations of great public trust. In the former sense a republican proceeding was grounded on the reception of certain principles respecting the elements of government; in the latter it was rendered unavoidable by the temporary separation and hostility which occurred between the king and the parliament.

The proceeding of the king in demanding to have the five leaders of the house of commons delivered into his hands, had all the effects of a declaration of war. In the following week Charles withdrew from his capital, never to return to it but a prisoner. The preparations for hostilities on both sides rendered the military appointments on the part of the parliament first necessary; and they were accordingly made. The affair of the five members occurred early in January 1642; and in the following month the two houses of the legislature prepared an ordinance for settling the militia of the kingdom, in which they inserted the names of thirty-six lords, and three commoners, who were to exercise the functions of lords lieutenant in the different counties^a. The ordinance passed into a law on the fifth of March^b; but it was not carried fully into execution till some months later.

CHAP.
II.1642.
January 3, 4.

January 10.

Nomina-
tion of
lords lieutenants of the
counties.

On the fourth of July following the parliament appointed a committee of fifteen persons; the earls of Northumberland, Essex, Pembroke, and Holland, and viscount Say, for the lords; and Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Marten, Fiennes, Pierrepont, Glyn, sir William Waller, sir Philip Stapleton, and sir John Merrick, for the commons; "to take into consideration whatever might concern the safety of the kingdom, the defence of the parliament, the preservation of the peace of the

Committee
of safety.^a Journals of Commons, Feb. 10, 11.^b Journals.

CHAP.
II.

1642.

kingdom, and the opposing any force which might be raised against the parliament: this committee to meet when and where they pleased^c." These persons, however narrow were their powers, were an executive government: and accordingly we find from time to time a power delegated to them, to dispose of arms^d, to send out ammunition^e, to issue money for the use of the army^f, to consider how many ships should be called in^g, and to take care that an admiral might be appointed for the station of Ireland^h. Simple was the frame of this executive; and the members who constituted it, received no inauguration, had no attendants given them, and were even assigned no stated place of meeting. Nothing was done but what was wholly indispensable. The vicissitudes of public affairs might render its existence fugitive and ephemeral; and its creators were resolute to do nothing that should unnecessarily afford to its members a temptation to protract that existence.

Organiza-
tion of an
army.
General of
ficers.

In the following week it was voted that an army should be raised for the public defence, that the earl of Essex, son to the unfortunate nobleman who was beheaded by queen Elizabeth, should be captain general of this army, and that the earl of Bedford should be general of the horseⁱ. Upon

^c Journals.^d Journals of Commons, July 19.^e Ibid. July 27.^f Ibid. Sep. 10.^g Ibid. July 23.^h Ibid. August 23.ⁱ Journals, July 12, 14.

these there of course followed all other appointments which were required for a military equipment.

CHAP.
II.

1642.

These appointments appear to have originated with the commander in chief. Sir John Merrick was nominated major-general, or in the language of those times, serjeant major-general, of the army^k, and John Mordaunt earl of Peterborough general of the ordnance^l. Twenty regiments of foot were formed; and their colonels were, the earl of Essex, the earl of Peterborough, Henry Grey earl of Stamford, William Fiennes viscount Say, Edward Montagu viscount Mandeville, better known as baron Kimbolton, son to the earl of Manchester^m, John Carey viscount Rochford, sometimes styled baron Hunsdon, son to the earl of Dover, Oliver St. John viscount St. John, son to the earl of Bolingbrokeⁿ, Robert Greville lord Brooke^o, John Roberts lord Roberts, and Philip Wharton lord Wharton, together with John Hampden, Denzil Hollis, sir John Merrick, sir Henry Cholmeley, sir William Constable, sir Wil-

Field officers.

^k List of the Army raised under the Command of Robert Earl of Essex, 1642.

^l The earl of Peterborough died in 1642; I suppose not, as it stands in the genealogies, before he was nominated to the above office.

^m Succeeded as earl of Manchester 9 November 1642.

ⁿ Viscount St. John was killed at the battle of Edgehill.

^o Lord Brooke was killed 2 March 1613.

CHAP. liam Fairfax, Charles Essex, Thomas Grantham,
 II. Thomas Ballard, and William Bampfield. The
 1642. complement of these regiments was probably one
 thousand men each.

There were at the same time raised seventy-five troops of horse, consisting of sixty men each, the chief commanders of which also bore the appellation of colonel. These troops appear to have been raised at the expence of their respective colonels. Among them occur the names of the following persons, who are more or less distinguished in the subsequent history : the earls of Essex, Bedford, Peterborough, and Stamford, viscounts Say and St. John, with Basil Fielding viscount Fielding, sometimes styled baron Newnham, son to the earl of Denbigh^p, lord Brooke, lord Wharton, William Willoughby lord Willoughby of Parham, Ferdinando Hastings lord Hastings, son to the earl of Huntingdon, and Thomas Grey lord Grey of Groby, son to the earl of Stamford; together with sir William Balfour, sir William Waller, sir Arthur Haselrig, sir Walter Earl, sir Faithful Fortescue, Nathaniel, Francis and John Fiennes, sons to viscount Say, Oliver Cromwel, Valentine Wauton, Henry Ireton, Arthur Goodwin, John Dalbier, Adrian Scroop, Thomas Hatcher, John Hotham, and Edward Berry. The cavalry therefore amounted to four thousand five hundred

^p Succeeded as earl of Denbigh 3 April 1643.

men^a. Thus before a sword was drawn on either side, the parliament had assumed to itself the nomination of the lords lieutenant within the different counties, carrying along with it an extensive jurisdiction, the constituting a temporary executive government, and the entire marshalling and appointment of the army which was raised to support their pretensions against the king^r.

It is proper to observe that Essex, the commander of the parliamentary army, had been appointed lord chamberlain of the household, at the

^a The remainder of the colonels of horse is, sir Robert Pic, sir William Wray, sir John Saunders, John Alured, Edwin Sandys, John Hammond, Thomas Hammond, Alexander Pym, Anthony Mildmay, Henry Mildmay, James Temple, Thomas Temple, Arthur Evelyn, Robert Vivers, Hercules^r Langrishe, William Prettytwice, James Sheffield, John Gunter, Robert Burrell, Francis Dowget, John Bird, Matthew Draper, — Dimock, Horatio Carey, John Neal, Edward Ayscough, George Thompson, Francis Thompson, Edward Keighly, Alexander Douglas, Thomas Lidcot, John Fleming, Richard Grenville, Thomas Terril, John Hale, William Balfour, George Austin, Edward Wingate, Edward Baynton, Ch. Chichester, Walter Long, Edmund West, William Anselm, Robert Kirle, and Simon Rudgeley.

^r As early as March in the present year, the earl of Warwick was named by the two houses to the command of the fleet. But this was a measure of indispensable precaution, and was intended to prevent the introduction of foreign forces, to fight the internal quarrels of the English nation. In case of a war also, the possession of the fleet must afford a material advantage to the party to which it fell, for transporting men and arms from one part of the kingdom to another.

CHAP.

II.

1642.

Treasurer
of the army;
treasurer of
the navy.

time the plan was conceived of forming a popular administration early in 1641, and that he was dismissed from this office soon after the king's arrival at York in the March of the following year.

In the month of August sir Gilbert Gerard, member for Middlesex, was by ordinance appointed treasurer of the army, and sir Henry Vane treasurer of the navy¹; two appointments which at this time seem to have been absolutely required for the orderly conduct of the affairs of the parliament. Sir Henry Vane, in conjunction with another person, had been named by the king joint-treasurer of the navy, some years before².

Temper
of the parlia-
ment.

But one of the characteristics of that set of men, to whose exertions at this period England is indebted for its liberties, was the sober and contemplative posture of thought which they uniformly displayed. They seemed never by any unforeseen occurrence to have been surprised into a step, which they had not previously meditated, or of which they had afterward reason to repent. They had no wild and inconsiderate spirit of innovation among them. They had no purpose of hastily disturbing any thing, which they found established, and which, free from the fear of any alarming evil, might be suffered to go on without their interference. They meddled therefore with

¹ Journals, Au

² Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 188.

those particulars which were indispensable to the accomplishment of their ends, and they left every thing else as it stood.

CHAP.
II.

A striking example of the wariness and sobriety, which went hand in hand with the firmness of their measures, is to be found in their conduct with relation to the judicial establishment of the kingdom. The proceeding of the judges in the case of ship-money seemed to be a sort of compendium and abstract of all the grievances of which a free people, as such, could have to complain: the treatment therefore which the judges were to receive from the legislature, may serve as a criterion of the moderation of the great leaders of the parliamentary party.

Judicial es-
tablish-
ment.

Ship-mo-
ney.

When Hampden and others resisted the payment of this imposition, the king, with that want of consideration which fatally characterised too many of his measures, addressed a letter to the twelve judges, demanding their opinion upon the legality of his proceeding; and, having obtained a favourable answer, he caused their attestation to be solemnly enrolled, as a warning to all defaulters. This was in February 1637.

1637.
Conduct of
the judges
on that sub-
ject.

Their answer purported, that they "were of opinion, the king might by law compel payment of the money assessed, and that in the assessment he was the sole judge of the danger to be provided against, and when and how it was to be

CHAP.

II.

1637.

prevented and avoided ^u." This Clarendon justly denominates, "judgment of law, grounded upon matter of fact, of which there was neither enquiry nor proof, nor any reason given but what included the estates of all the standers-by^v." And what further aggravated the proceeding was, that the judges were thus induced to give a premature decision in a question, which was in its own nature matter of trial, and might come, as it afterwards did come, to be solemnly argued before them.

Conduct of
Hampden.

For the time however this measure of the king seemed to produce its effect. Hampden, and several other of the most distinguished leaders of the opposition to the court, appear to have been struck with the irregularity of the proceeding, and somewhat hastily to have concluded, that this attestation of the judges laid the whole property and privileges of the kingdom at the feet of the king, and that there no longer remained any hope for the public cause. Accordingly they resolved to travel in search of independence to the wilds of America. They were stopped. This was found in the sequel a most fortunate event for the public liberty. Hampden, being refused the permission of withdrawing from the contest, resolved to enter into it with an undaunted spirit. He caused the question to be argued with all the delibe-

Trial of
Hampden.

^u Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 354, 355.

^v Vol. I, p. 70.

ration which was due to its magnitude and its consequences. He retained counsel of no ordinary ability (St. John and Holbourn^w); and the point was kept day after day before the public eye. This proved an affair of a very different nature, from that of a letter privately addressed by the king to the judges, with their answer, neither of which became known to the public but in consequence of their being enrolled. In the private investigation two of the judges, Hutton and Croke, are known to have dissented from their brethren; though, agreeably to the usual form, their names are signed with the rest to the decision. When the case came to be publicly argued, the opinion of these two gained an accession of two more, Davenport and Denham. The sentence *in form*, was delivered in favour of ship-money. The sentence against it, was emphatically pronounced by a great majority of the people of the realm from one end to the other. Judgment was given in the exchequer-chamber, 12 June 1638^x."

CHAP.
II.

1637.

1638.
Decision of
the judges.

It was not till December 1640, more than one month from the meeting of the Long Parliament, that the house of commons came to a vote determining the illegality of ship-money, and condemning both the extra-judicial opinion of the

1640.
Ship-money
condemned.

^w This man afterwards went over to the king's side. He died February 1648.

^x Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 600. Franklin, p. 608.

CHAP.

II.

1640.

Names of
the judges.Finch, lord
keeper, im-
peached.Six judges
held in bail.1641.
Judge
Berkeley
imprisoned.

judges delivered in 1637, and the judgment given against Hampden in the exchequer in 1638^y. Certain enquiries were at the same time directed to be made respecting any circumstances of aggravation or otherwise, which might attach to the different judges implicated in this business^z. The names of the judges in both cases were as follow : Bramston, Croke, Berkeley, and Crawley, for the king's bench ; Finch, Hutton, Vernon, and Jones, for the common pleas ; and of the exchequer, Davenport, Denham, Trevor and Weston. Of these there appear to have died in the interval, Hutton, Jones, Denham, and I suppose Vernon ; and Croke was excused on account of his known dissent from his brethren. Finch, who had notoriously been most active for the court in the affair, was impeached on the twenty-first of December ; and on the next day the other six were required to put in security, in the amount of ten thousand pounds each, to abide the judgment of parliament^a. On the twelfth of February following, sir Robert Berkeley, being for some reason selected from the rest, was impeached, and ordered into custody^b : and the manner of his arrest was so conducted as to produce a considerable impression. He was taken from off the bench by the usher of the black rod, to the great

^y Journals, December 7.^z Ibid.^a / Ibid.^b Ibid.

terror of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and of all his profession^b. In the month of July articles of impeachment were exhibited by the commons at the bar of the house of lords against Berkeley, Crawley, and the three barons of the exchequer: and it deserves to be mentioned that the articles against Finch were carried up to the house of lords by lord Falkland, and those against the three barons by Mr. Edward Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon^c, both of whom ranked themselves a few months afterwards among the adherents of the king. No further proceedings were had against sir John Bramston, chief justice of the king's bench, who had been required with the rest to put in security to abide the judgment of parliament. Finch no sooner heard that his impeachment was determined on, than he fled to the continent^d.

CHAP.
II.
1641.
Five judges
impeached.

1642.

The year 1642 opened with events of the most decisive cast. The king made his demand of the five members. This proceeding had the most unfavourable effect on his cause. It involved, if not complied with, a complete breach between the executive and the legislature. It produced a vehement sensation in the citizens of London, whom

^b Whitlocke, Feb. 13. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 188.

^c Journals of Lords, July 6. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 318 to 344.

^d Journals of Lords, Dec. 22, 1640.

CHAP
II.

1642.

Judge
Mallet im-
prisoned.

it united, almost as one man, against the king. He found himself compelled to withdraw from the metropolis; he embarked his queen for the continent; and himself proceeded for York with his followers. About the same time another of the judges, Mallet of the king's bench, fell under the displeasure of the house of lords, for being privy to the preparing a petition at the general assizes of the county of Kent against the parliamentary ordinance of the militia. He was in consequence committed by them for a time a prisoner to the Tower^e.

In the month of August Charles set up his standard at Nottingham; and all things appeared unequivocally advancing towards the actual commencement of hostilities.

Difficulties
attendant
on judicial
proceed-
ings.Judges ap-
pointed
since the
case of
ship-mo-
ney.

All these circumstances contributed to render it extremely difficult, for the legislature to keep up the ordinary forms of judicial proceedings. There had indeed been several judges appointed, subsequently to the determination in the exchequer in the question of ship-money; and these were therefore exempt from the censure of parliament in that business. Croke was now dead: sir John Bankes of Corfe Castle, had been made chief justice of the common pleas; Reeve and Foster inferior judges in that court; Mallet and Bacon puisné judges of the king's bench; and Page

^e Journals o. Lords, March 28. Clarendon, Vol, I. p. 486.

and Hendon barons of the exchequer^f. Yet, 'in the great defection of lords and gentry, which now took place, some of these might be expected to go over to the king; and, if the parliament should remit their displeasure towards any of the offenders in the case of ship-money, it was far from certain that they would not pursue the same line of conduct.

Some notion of the state of things in that respect may be formed, from an attempt that was made a few days before the battle of Edgehill, upon a commission of *oyer et terminer*, to attain the earl of Essex and many other persons in the parliamentary army, of high treason. This proceeding appears to have taken place at Kenilworth^g. Sir Robert Heath, who had been chief justice of the court of common pleas eight years before, but who had been removed to make room for Finch when the imposition of ship-money was resolved on^h, probably because he was not thought competent to the direction of so arduous an affair, was the person fixed upon to take the lead in this business. Bramston therefore, though without unkindness on the part of the king, was removed from his office, and sir Robert Heath appointed chief justice of the king's bench in his roomⁱ.

Attempted
impeach-
ment of
Essex and
others.

^f Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*.

^g Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 42.

^h Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 253.

ⁱ Clarendon, *ubi supra*. This same man, according to Dugdale,

CHAP.
II.

1642.

Trial of
Lilburne at
Oxford.

What other lawyers assisted in the transaction we are not told ; nor does it appear what was the issue of the business. It was most likely rendered abortive. But the king's party were not thus discouraged. John Lilburne, a name conspicuous in the subsequent history of these times, was taken prisoner at Brentford, when the king, immediately after the battle of Edgehill, pushed on for London, and filled the metropolis with alarm ; and he, together with others in a similar condition, was brought before the same judge Heath to be tried for high treason in bearing arms against the king. Lilburne shewed on this occasion the undaunted spirit which has given celebrity to his name^k ; and the judge amiably told him, that he would give him the utmost privilege of the law, that it was his right to plead for himself, and say what he could, and that he should experience no interruption^l. The parliament however seasonably interposed with a declaration, that if Lilburne or his fellow-prisoners should sustain any injury under form of law, the like punishment should be inflicted upon such prisoners as were taken of the king's party. Lilburne soon after obtained his liberty^m.

He obtains
his liberty.

was made a puisné judge in the beginning of the year. His name accordingly occurs as one of the judges in the Journals of the House of Lords.

^k Clarendon, Vol. III, p. 501.

^l Lawes Funerall, an Epistle, by Lilburne.

^m Journals of Lords, Dec. 17. Clarendon, *ubi supra*.

CHAP.
II.

1642.
Temper of
many of the
chief of-
ficers in the
service of
the parlia-
ment

The first campaign of the war ended without either party obtaining a decisive advantage. In the beginning of the contest no great military ability was displayed. Where parties shock with each other in a state, and each are anxious to gain supporters, there are several other things that have weight in the nomination of an officer, distinct from the merit and abstract fitness of the individual. The king was obliged to favour and put forward many persons in consideration of their rank and extensive possessions, who were not in other respects the best qualified for the situations assigned them. The parliament in like manner was restrained from the exercise of the freedom of its choice by the necessities of its position. The house of lords was in every period of the contention less firm in resistance to monarchical incroachments, than the house of commons. Management and a certain temporising were required in the parliamentary leaders to carry the essential point,—that the king should have two houses of the legislature to resist his arbitrary proceedings. There is in the nature of things a certain leaning and undue partiality in an hereditary aristocracy towards the chief magistrate, when a choice is to be made between him and the body of the nation. We have accordingly seen that, in the original appointment of the officers of the parliamentary army, they were to a considerable extent taken from among the nobility.

CHAP.

II.

1642.,
of the earl
of Essex.

Considerations of this sort had determined the appointment even of their commander in chief, the earl of Essex. He was the most popular of the nobility. He was loved for his father's sake, and loved for his own. His carriage was uncommonly prepossessing and gracious, the joint produce of a lofty spirit and a kind heart. He made himself acceptable to the meanest soldier in the army; and, after the manner of a camp, which has a strange sort of good humour and familiarity mixed with its despotism, the private soldiers gave him as a mark of their kindness the nickname of Old Robin^a. He had another advantage, upon which too great a stress was laid at this period; he had studied the art of war in the Netherlands.

But Essex was not a man qualified to take the lead in perilous times. He would not under any circumstances have proved a military genius. In addition to this, he wanted a clear and decisive spirit. He thought too much of personal considerations, of what was suited to his own character and dignity. He was full of romance, and had a high sense of honour according to the principles of ancient chivalry; but he was not a patriot. He had therefore, in the trust that was imposed upon him, a nice game to play, which he did not fully understand. He did not desire the unlimited suc-

^a Whitlocke, p. 65.

cess of the cause in which he was engaged. He entertained some distrust of the leading men in the house of commons. He apprehended they might go further in their prosperity, than he and his brother-peers would approve. The king, it was thus he reasoned, should be checked; but he must be preserved. Essex had no aversion to the splendour and magnificence of a court. What issue then was it, that he required to the contest? He did not wish that Charles should have all power in his hands, and should dictate the terms upon which peace was to be made. Neither, on the other hand, did he desire for the opposers of the court-principles an entire superiority. In fact he was unable to draw the line, and decide for himself what it was he aimed at; and his conduct was accordingly full of instability and uncertainty.

CHAP.
II.

1642.

Twice in the course of the first campaign, according to Whitlocke, a cool and able observer, Essex lost the opportunity to put an end to the war. The battle of Edgehill concluded without any decisive advantage to either side: but the parliamentary troops kept possession of the field of battle; and, the day after, they were joined by two fresh regiments under Hampden and Hollis, and a body of horse under lord Willoughby. These three earnestly advised the general to pursue the king, and renew the attack, which if he had done, "it might have gone far to put an issue to the bu-

Oversights
committed
by him

1. after the
battle of
Edgehill.

CHAP.
II.

1642.

2. at
Brentford.

siness.” But Essex consulted with colonel Dal-
bier and the old soldiers of fortune, who under-
stood nothing of the zeal with which the great
patriots fought for their country, and were govern-
ed by notions of routine, that tended more to the
preserving the lives of their followers, than to the
gaining of victories; and, swayed by their advice,
he withdrew his army towards Coventry, leaving
the king free to pursue his march either towards
Oxford or the metropolis. The second instance
in which Essex neglected the opportunity that
was offered him, was when Charles shortly after
advanced against London on the side of Brent-
ford. The parliamentary army was drawn up at
Turnham Green; and Essex ordered two regi-
ments, one of them Hampden’s, to take a circuit,
and attack the royal army in the rear, while the
main body should engage the king in front: but
the detachment had not marched more than a mile,
before the general, again influenced by the sol-
diers of fortune, countermanded his orders, and
directed it to return. The king was finally per-
mitted to retreat unmolested, though “some of
Charles’s party afterwards confessed, that they had
not at that time bullet enough to have maintained
fight for a quarter of an hour, and would in all
probability have been totally broken, and that this
was the cause of their retreat P.”

° Whitlocke, p. 64.

° Ibid. p. 66.

This indecisive issue of the campaign seemed to render an appearance of negotiation and mutual concession necessary to both parties. In civil contention, which had now scarcely occurred in England for one hundred and fifty years, the body of the people on either side, who would be required to fight, or to defray the cost of the war, would expect to be satisfied that, in neither their fortunes nor their persons, they were made a wanton sacrifice, and that the party that called for their cooperation would be contented with a reasonable compromise. But neither side was yet sufficiently subdued for a sincere agreement: The parliamentary leaders were most of them men of a firm and undaunted spirit; and the king was too dearly wedded to the exercise of prerogative in its amplest construction, ever to make a concession without a secret reserve, through the means of which it might afterwards be declared null. He was in reality a strange compound of that jesuitry, which still presents one meaning to the plain ear of an unsophisticated man, while another is uppermost in the speaker's mind, with a pride and obstinacy which shrunk as by impulse from the adoption of almost any propositions which he regarded as diminishing his prerogative and power. This of course gave to his conduct an appearance of incongruity; and we must add to this, if we would compare and explain the language of his hasty speeches, his private letters,

CHAP.
II.

1643.
Transactions during
the winter.

CHAP.
II.

1643.

and his public declarations, that it happened to him, to the full extent in which it is liable to occur to persons in his eminent station, that he perpetually made his own, and set his name to, papers prepared by persons whose conceptions and views were different from his, and which he adopted merely because he thought the adoption necessary for political purposes. Thus a vast multitude of his declarations were digested by Hyde[Clarendon], who was by education a lawyer, and who had very lately ceased to adhere to the patriotic party: it would therefore be absurd to consider these papers as containing a representation of his genuine sentiments.

Negociations at Oxford.

The negotiation accordingly, which took place at Oxford in the beginning of the year 1643, was wholly unsubstantial. The king had made a promise to the queen, when she sailed for Holland in February 1642 to purchase arms and ammunition, from whence she returned in the following year, and joined the king in July, that he “would never make any peace but by her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her¹.” Clarendon assures us that, if Northumberland had been re-appointed to the office of lord high admiral, the rest would have been easy, and peace have been made¹: by which he can only mean that that no-

¹ Clarendon, Life, Vol. I, p. 80.

bleman and his friends would then have abetted the terms laid down by the king. But Charles could not be prevailed upon to do even this.

CHAP.
II.
1643.

The thing therefore which it is most to our purpose to notice in this mere form of a negotiation at Oxford, is the clause in the petition of both houses of parliament presented by their commissioners in the commencement of the business, in which they besought the king to fill the seats of the judges with the following persons: sir John Bramston to be chief justice of the king's bench, and sir Francis Bacon to continue a puisné judge of that court, with the addition of serjeant Rolle, and serjeant Atkins; sir John Bankes to continue chief justice of the common pleas, and sir Edmund Reeve, and sir Robert Foster, to continue puisné judges, with the addition of serjeant Pheasant; and the court of exchequer to be entirely renewed, Mr. serjeant Wild to be chief baron, and Mr. serjeant Creswel, with Mr. Samuel Browne, and Mr. John Puleston, inferior barons. They added a recommendation of Lenthall, speaker of the house of commons, to the appointment of master of the rolls; and they signified their desire, that these, and all other judges for time to come, might hold their places by letters patent, *quamdiu se bene gesserint* ^r.

Judges recommended by the parliament.

From this recommendation we may collect,

^r Journals of Lords, Jan. 30. •

CHAP.
II.

1643.

first, that the parliament was not inclined to introduce any alterations under this head that did not appear to them to be imperatively called for: in addition to which we may learn from the omissions, who were the judges that had fallen under their particular displeasure, and from the added names, who were the rising characters in the profession that they were most disposed to favour. Four of the names in the above list were of persons already seated on the bench, and a fifth, sir John Bramston, had, as we have seen, been displaced by the king from temporary considerations only. Add to which in this last case, they acknowledged no appointment as authentic, that had been made by the king since the spring of 1642.

CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION.—
 DIFFERENCE OF OPINIONS RESPECTING CHURCH-
 GOVERNMENT.—ABOLITION OF THE VOTES OF
 THE BISHOPS.—BILL FOR THE ABOLISHING
 EPISCOPACY PASSES THE TWO HOUSES.—STAGE-
 PLAYS SUPPRESSED.—MONUMENTS OF IDOLA-
 TRY DESTROYED.—CASE OF LORD STRAFFORD.

ONE of the questions which particularly occu-
 pied the mind of the leaders in the Long Parlia-
 ment, was that of our church-establishment; and
 upon this subject they were somewhat less tem-
 porising and uncertain than upon many others.
 Religion with them was a serious consideration,
 a topic which they were disposed to treat with
 good faith and in earnest. They were sincere
 patriots to the best of their judgment, anxious to
 promote the substantial welfare of their fellow-
 creatures. They knew that there can be no real
 liberty, and no good political government, with-
 out morality; and they believed that the morality
 of the various members of the community inti-
 mately depended upon their religious creed, and

CHAP.
 III.



CHAP.
III.

1532.
Reforma-
tion in En-
gland:

upon the character and conduct of the ministers of the national religion.

The Reformation in England dates its commencement from the year 1532. It was conducted in all its early operations by that capricious and arbitrary monarch, Henry the Eighth; and, in no long time after his death, the old religion was called back again by his daughter, queen Mary Tudor. Various causes contributed to render the progress of the Reformation in this country particularly fluctuating and uncertain; and the early reformers here were greatly divided among themselves.

on the con-
tinent.

On the continent the Reformation shewed itself in two forms. In Sweden, in Denmark, and in some parts of Germany, where the authority of the prince was most considerable, its principles were mitigated, and the policy of its conductors appears to have been, to banish the more glaring corruptions of the church of Rome, but to preserve the hierarchy and the forms of religious worship as nearly as might be the same. This mode of proceeding seemed best to accord with monarchical government. The church served to give lustre to the throne; and its methodical forms and solemnities rendered it a more apt and pliant machine in the hands of the civil power. In Holland, in Switzerland, and in Geneva, the process had been somewhat different. The reformers there, not being obliged to consult the incli-

nations of a potentate reigning among them, were less disposed to imitate the institutions of the church of Rome, and thought it more reasonable to consult the primitive pattern and the simplicity of the Gospel. The consequence was the establishment of a parity among their clergy, no one or more of the members of the hierarchy assuming a dominion over the rest, or living in splendour and magnificence, while the majority of their brethren could command little more than the bare means of subsistence. The reformers in France, not having the benefit or disadvantage of an alliance with the state, proceeded on the same principles. And this mode of church-government and religious worship was also established in Scotland.

It may not be foreign to the question of the comparative value of these two kinds of religious establishment, to quote the sentiments of an author, well known not to have been the slave of religious impressions ^a.

Presbyte-
rian system
of church-
govern-
ment.

“The proper performance of every service,” says he, “seems to require that its pay or recompence should be, as exactly as possible, proportioned to the nature of the service. If any service is very much under-paid, it is very apt to suffer by the meanness and incapacity of the greater part of those who are employed in it. If it is very much over-paid, it is apt to suffer perhaps still

^a Smith's Wealth of Nations, Book V, Chap. i.

CHAP.
III.

more, by their negligence and idleness. A man of a large revenue, whatever may be his profession, thinks he ought to live like other men of large revenues ; and to spend a great part of his time in festivity, in vanity, and in dissipation. But in a clergyman this train of life not only consumes the time which ought to be employed in the duties of his function, but in the eyes of the common people destroys almost entirely that sanctity of character which can alone enable him to perform those duties with proper weight and authority.

“Where the church-benefices are all nearly equal, none of them can be very great, and this mediocrity of benefice, though it may no doubt be carried too far, has however some very agreeable effects. Nothing but the most exemplary morals can give dignity to a man of small fortune. The vices of levity and vanity necessarily render him ridiculous, and are besides almost as ruinous to him, as they are to the common people. In his own conduct therefore he is obliged to follow that system of morals which the common people respect the most. He gains their esteem and affection by that plan of life, which his own interest and situation would lead him to follow. The common people look upon him with that kindness, with which we naturally regard one who approaches somewhat to our own condition, but who we think ought to be in a higher. Their kind-

ness naturally provokes his kindness. He becomes careful to instruct them, and attentive to assist and relieve them. He does not even despise the prejudices of people who are disposed to be so favourable to him, and never treats them with those contemptuous and arrogant airs which we so often meet with in the proud dignitaries of opulent and well endowed churches. The Presbyterian clergy accordingly have more influence over the minds of the common people, than perhaps the clergy of any other established church. It is accordingly in Presbyterian countries only, that we ever find the common people converted without persecution, completely and almost to a man, to the established church."

These sentiments, if well considered, will perhaps convince us that there is nothing fanatical or sordid in the principle of the church-establishments of Scotland, Holland, and the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.

The most zealous of the first reformers in England probably entertained no great degree of good will to the institution of prelacy. There existed in the time of Edward the Sixth a disposition to carry the spirit of the Reformation into a considerably greater effect than had been permitted under Henry the Eighth. But what completed the establishment of an anti-prelatical party in England, was the persecution carried on by queen Mary, which drove the ablest and the most

Puritans.

CHAP.
III.

1558.

fervent of the Protestants to take refuge in foreign countries, where of necessity they were led to study the forms to which that spirit had given birth in those countries. The denomination by which this party now became known was that of Puritans, and it needed all the energy of Elizabeth's government, who was herself an earnest supporter of ecclesiastical pomp, to keep this set of men within the bounds which her policy prescribed.

1603.

The contest which had subsisted under Elizabeth, became more active and critical after the accession of the Stuarts. Hume, who is disposed to treat every question of this kind with levity, and who was doubly stimulated to do so by his purpose of composing the apology of the new family, calls it a contest about the surplice and the tippet, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the sacrament^b. But to represent it thus, is to see a very little way into the truth of things. Whether we shall have an opulent clergy, with various distributions of ranks, and great formality and magnificence in the solemnising of religious worship, is certainly a question not altogether frivolous. Meanwhile it was rendered infinitely more serious by the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of Laud. His punishments were of the most odious kind, whipping, setting in the pillory, cut-

1629 to
1637.
Cruelties of
Laud.

ting off the ears, slitting the nose, and imprisonment for life; and one peculiarity of his system was, that it seemed to aim at the levelling all distinctions of rank. An eminent barrister, an eminent physician, a clergyman who had been clerk of the closet to two successive princes of Wales, a professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and the master of Westminster school, were among his victims.

CHAP.
III.

Prynne.
Bastwick.
Burton.

Leighton.

Osbaldiston.

“If we could but see,” says Milton^c, “the shape of our deare mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appeare, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and teares abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the bishops thought indifferent! What more binding than conscience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhumane that free choyse and liberty, that shall break asunder the bonds of religion. Let the astrologer be dismay’d at the portentous blaze of comets and impressions in the aire, as foretelling troubles and changes to states: I shall beleieve there cannot be a more ill-boding signe to

^c Of Reformation touching Church Disciplin, Book II.

CHAP.
III.1640.
Different
opinions on
church-go-
vernment.

a nation (God turne the omen from us) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to forsake their native country."

At the time of the meeting of the Long Parliament there were three modes of thinking prevalent among the English nation on the subject of church-government. The first was that of the king and the hierarchy, the men who desired to retain the church-establishment such as it had been fixed in the reign of Elizabeth : for we will count for nothing the innovations of Laud, introducing new mummeries, and more cruel severities against religious offenders, these having no partisans but those who were made such from deference for their author. The episcopal clergy of England, from the commencement of the Reformation, had always included in their body men of great intellectual merit, and of exemplary piety and virtue : and such is the constitution of the human mind, that merit and virtue almost necessarily draw greater admiration when dressed in robes and shewn in state, than when they present themselves unadorned and in rags. The next party on the subject of church-government was that, which had studied the models that were offered in Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, and France, which conceived this system best to accord with the precepts of the New Testament, and aimed therefore at no less than the utter abo-

lition of the episcopal order. There was a third, but an inferior party, that preserved a medium between these two, and was disposed to preserve the order of bishops, but desired to retrench something of their pomp and political importance, and to elevate the presbyters, so as to give them a share in that authority which was now engrossed by the bishops alone. The triumph of the first of these parties must depend upon the success of the royalists; they could not hope to be preserved in the state in which they were by any other means. But the ultimate ascendancy of the moderate party, or of that which went into the opposite extreme, was to be decided by circumstances and events.

CHAP.
III.

1640.

On the first day that the house of commons sat for the dispatch of business, four committees of the whole house, styled by them Grand Committees, were appointed to sit, one day in the week each, for religion, for grievances, for courts of justice, and for trade^d. It was the business of these committees to prepare such measures as it might be supposed the house would think fit to adopt on these subjects. On the twelfth of the following month the grand committee for religion appointed a sub-committee of forty persons, which number in the subsequent week was increased to eighty, to enquire into the causes of the great

Long Par-
liament.
Novemb. 6.

Grand
committee
for religion.

Committee
for scanda-
lous mini-
sters.

^d Journals.

CHAP.
III.

1640.

scarcity of preaching ministers, and to consider of a way for removing scandalous ministers, and putting others in their places^e. This committee was afterwards for brevity commonly called the committee for scandalous ministers.

Preaching. To understand the purpose of this measure, we must call to mind the state of the church of England as it existed at this time. The Reformation of course produced a great deal of preaching, as preaching is the only direct way, and where the prayers of the church are according to a set form, the only way, in which information can be communicated from the clergyman to his assembled flock. The Romish clergy therefore were great enemies to indiscriminate preaching. Wherever the object is to retain things sluggishly in their present posture, the more there is of mere form, the better will it answer the purpose of the conductors of the machine. Of consequence queen Elizabeth, when once she had settled what the church of England should be, and was desirous that it should not be moved from that point, set herself against parish-preaching in general. She issued an edict forbidding any clergyman to preach without a special licence for that purpose. The

Homilies. Book of Homilies was composed with this express view, that the ministers of the church might not discourse at large upon whatever topics occurred

^e Journals, Dec. 19.

to them. The party which was rising in the kingdom, that desired further reformation, and was the enemy of prelacy, called the puritans, rendered Elizabeth more strenuous in this precaution. The Stuarts continued the policy of their immediate predecessor. One of the favourite maxims of James was, "No bishop, no king." And archbishop Laud, who was so much the zealot of multiplied ceremonies, was of course no friend to preaching and devotional eloquence. In addition to which he was the advocate of the doctrines of Arminius, which were at that time an innovation, and would not endure that there should be any champion for the opposite dogmas of Cranmer and the first reformers.

The consequences of all this, were such as any one may immediately perceive flowing from such a cause. The majority of the clergy were called upon for a formal exterior only, and the mere faculty of reading. This required little talent or industry. It was not obvious for any one thus confined, to gain superior praise, or acquire more love and attachment than another. Ambition was at an end. No one can display or can cultivate a fervent zeal, in the mere repetition of a form. Little education was necessary in a parish-priest; and where all that was required was a mechanical performance, there was small excitement to the practice of the moral duties. We may therefore easily conclude what was the cha-

Character
of the infe-
rior clergy.

CHAP.
III.

1640.

racter of a great proportion at this time of the guides of the people of England in piety and virtue. But the champions of liberty in the Long Parliament were strenuous in the cause of moral rectitude, and, with very few exceptions, sincere believers in the Christian religion. They set themselves in good earnest to correct the evils we have delineated.

Proceed-
ings of the
committee
for scanda-
lous mini-
sters.

The celebrated Richard Baxter thus describes the proceedings which took place at this time. "Mr. John White [member for Southwark], being the chairman of the committee for scandalous ministers, as it was called, published in print one century first of scandalous ministers, with their names, places, and the articles proved against them; where so much ignorance, insufficiency, drunkenness, filthiness, &c. was charged upon them, that many moderate men could have wished that their nakedness had been rather hid, and not exposed to the world's derision. Another century also was after published^f." He adds, "The king and parliament were not yet divided, and so no partaking in their differences was any part of the accusation against these ministers^f." As an instance in point, Baxter relates, that a petition was drawn up against the vicar of Kidderminster and his curate, as unlearned, tipplers, and preaching but once a quarter, and the curate's "trade in

^f Life of Baxter by Himself.

the week-days being unlawful marriages ;” but a compromise was proposed, and the vicar agreeing to allow Baxter sixty pounds *per annum* to preach to the parishioners, the petition was suppressed^f.

CHAP.
III.
1640.

The mode of proceeding in this case, the result of which was the confiscating or sequestering by order of parliament the livings of those who were voted guilty, was certainly liable to much abuse.

The next topic of parliamentary enquiry in ecclesiastical matters, was the proceedings of the late convocation. When the king dissolved the parliament of the preceding April after a session of three weeks only, he by a particular commission ordered the convocation of the church, which was then sitting, to continue its assemblies. This was a thing which had scarcely perhaps happened in more than one instance before. The convocation thus prolonged, had voted a subsidy for the king to be levied on the clergy, and had established certain canons, by one of which the royal authority was declared absolute, and resistance upon any pretence whatever damnable, and by another every clergyman was called upon to swear that he would not endeavour directly or indirectly to alter any thing in the doctrine, discipline, or government of the church^g.

Convoca-
tion cen-
sured.

Beside the exceptions which would naturally

^f Ibid.

^g Nalson, Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 545.

CHAP.

III.

1646.

be taken to the validity and the matter of these canons, there was an *et cætera* in the oath imposed, he that took it being obliged to swear to the government of the church "by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, *et cætera*," which was the subject of much censure and ridicule, and which, to say the least, was unbecoming the solemnity of an oath.

These canons, and the subsidy which accompanied them, were pronounced contrary to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm by the house of commons on the fifteenth of December, and the next day a committee was appointed, to consider how far the archbishop of Canterbury was concerned in the proceeding, and to bring in a charge against him, and such others as might be found to be offenders in the affair^h. Two days after, an impeachment was voted against the archbishop, and he was by the house of lords committed to prison^h: Strafford, the king's most considerable minister, having been proceeded against in a similar manner early in the preceding month. Two other bishops, Wren and Pierce, were called upon a few days after to put in security that they would abide the judgment of parliament upon certain charges which the house of commons was preparing to bring against themⁱ.

Impeachment of
Laud.

Wren and
Pierce put
to bail.

^h Journals.

ⁱ Journals of Lords, Dec. 19, 24.

In the same month a petition was presented to the house from the city of London by alderman Pennington, having fifteen thousand signatures, remonstrating the evil consequences that had been experienced from episcopal government, and praying that it might be abolished, root and branch, throughout the kingdom of England^k.

CHAP.
III.

1640.
London
petition
against e-
piscopacy.

On the twenty-third of January a petition, accompanied with a remonstrance, was presented in the same quarter, signed by seven hundred benefited clergy, and which was therefore denominated the Ministers' Petition. This did not pray for the utter extirpation of episcopacy, but enumerated a variety of grievances arising from the present system of church-government, which the subscribers represented as urgently calling for the interference of parliament^l. The accompanying remonstrance was copious in its contents, and consisted of several sheets of paper^m. Petitions of a like nature followed from Kent, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and other countiesⁿ. The petitions, presented to the king and the house of lords, in favour of the present establishment, were not less numerous^o.

1641.
Ministers'
petition.

Petitions
from several
counties.

^k Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 93. Whitlocke, p. 39.

^l Neal, History of Puritans, Part. II, ch. viii.

^m Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 203. Twenty sheets: Baillie, Letters, Vol. I, p. 236. This author states the signatures at 1800.

ⁿ Neal, ubi supra.

^o Ibid. Clarendon, speaking of the Ministers' Petition, (Vol. I,

CHAP.
III.

1641.

Both
houses of
parliament
sent for to
Whitehall.

'On the same day in which the ministers' petition was presented to the commons, the king sent for both houses of parliament to attend him at Whitehall, and addressed them with a speech. The principal points of this speech were, that he was no enemy to reform in the church, and approved of frequent parliaments, but that he would never consent that the bishops' voices in parliament should be taken away, or that the power of enforcing frequent meetings of parliament should in any case be vested in sheriffs and other subordinate officers^p.

This sort of interference on the part of the king

p. 203,) says that it was "pretended to be signed by several hundred ministers," and adds a strange story, that "the course was, to prepare a petition very modest and dutiful for the form, and for the matter not very unreasonable; and that, when a multitude of hands was procured, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one framed suitable to the design in hand, and annexed to the long list of names already collected." But Neal very properly observes, "This is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to be well supported: if it had been true, why did they not complain to the committee which the house of commons appointed to enquire into the irregular methods of procuring hands to petitions [Journals, Nov. 18.]? His lordship answers, that *they were prevailed with to sit still and pass it by*; for which we have only his lordship's word. Nothing of the kind is to be found in Rushworth, Whitlocke, or any disinterested writer of the times." If Clarendon's representation were just, it would follow that the people of England, clergy and laity, were of the prelatial party, and that the presbyterians and reformers were scarcely any where to be found.

^r Journals, Jan. 25.

perhaps in no instance ever produced the effect he intended. The partisans of the people were sometimes much irritated at the impropriety of his noticing and commenting upon measures which were then depending in parliament. The best that could occur was, when they seemed not to remark the sentiments he delivered, and went on just as if the interference had not taken place. This happened at present in the question of church-government.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

On the next day that parliament sat, subsequent to that on which the king's speech was delivered, the commons named a day on which the ministers' petition and the remonstrance should be taken into consideration, and together with them the petitions from the counties concerning episcopacy⁹. The London petition was also appointed for the same debate^r.

Petitions
taken into
considera-
tion.

On the ninth of February the whole subject was referred to a committee of thirty, afterwards enlarged to forty-four, "to prepare heads out of these petitions for the consideration of the house; the house," as the vote goes on to state, "reserving to itself the main point of episcopacy, to take it into their consideration in due time^s."

Question of
episcopacy
reserved.

This language serves in a considerable degree to explain the state of parties in this respect at the time the vote was passed. If the prelatical

⁹ Journals, Jan. 25.

^r Ibid. Feb. 5.

^s Ibid. Feb. 9, 27.

CHAP.
III.

1641.

party, as Clarendon would have us believe, comprehended almost the entire house, the expressions employed would certainly have been very different. The friends of the bishops would not have failed to use the occasion, to obtain from the house some declaration in favour of their order. The case would have been the same, even if the advocates of mitigated episcopacy had possessed a decisive superiority. We may fairly infer from the language used, that the presbyterians, or other levellers in church-government, were at least a very powerful party. To say, "We reserve the main point of episcopacy for future consideration," is to say in other words, we are not yet decided to maintain episcopacy.

Resolutions of the commons.

Upon the report of the committee the house of commons came to three resolutions: first, that the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the house of peers, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth and fit to be taken away by a bill^t: secondly, they came to the same decision as to bishops or other clergymen being in the commission of the peace, or having judicial power in any civil court^u: and thirdly, they passed a similar condemnation on their having employment as privy counsellors, or in any temporal office^w. A bill was brought in upon these resolutions, and

formed into a bill.

^t Journals, Mar. 10.

^u Ibid. Mar. 11.

^w Ibid. Mar. 22.

having passed through the regular forms, was sent up to the house of lords on the first of May.

CHAP.
III.

In the upper house it was not received with entire favour. It was read a first and a second time, and referred to a committee as usual: but, when it came out of the committee, the lords passed various resolutions on the subject, expressive of their consent to the rest of the bill, but refusing to take away the bishops' votes in parliament. Two conferences took place between the two houses on this question: but the lords refused to recede; and after the third reading, it was voted by them that this bill do not pass*.

1641.
rejected by
the lords.

The vote had no sooner been adopted in the house of lords to maintain the bishops' voices in parliament, than a bill was brought into the commons for the utter abolishing and taking away of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and

Bill for
abolishing
bishops.

* Lords' Journals, May 13, 22, 24, 25, 27; June 4, 8. The character of Clarendon as an historian has not generally been understood. He says expressly upon this incident: "The house of lords could not be prevailed with so much as to commit the bill; a countenance they frequently give to bills they never intend to pass: but at the second reading it, they utterly cast it out." Vol. I, p. 237. If the noble author said this in the face of the facts, I leave it to my readers to bestow on his conduct an appropriate epithet. If, writing in exile, and without the proper documents, he conceived the matter thus, because thus he would have wished it, we may infer what value is to be given to his statements in many other instances. Clarendon's assertion in this case stands uncontradicted by any of our historians.

CHAP.

III.

1641.

Proceedings
on the bill.

their officers, out of the church of England^y. This bill was drawn up by St. John^z, the best lawyer, Selden perhaps excepted, and one of the men of highest talents, among the friends of liberty.

The history of this bill, as given by Clarendon, is extremely worthy of our attention. He says, "The utterly rejecting it at its first introduction was pressed by very many; but it was at last read; and, no question being put upon the first reading, it was laid by, and not called upon for a long time after^a. At length, when every body expected something else, they called in a morning for this bill, that had so long before been brought in, and gave it a second reading, and resolved that it should be committed to a committee of the whole house the next day.

"It was a very long debate the next morning who should be put in the chair. They who wished well to the bill having resolved to put Mr. Hyde [Clarendon] in the chair, that he might not give them trouble by frequent speaking, and so too much obstruct the expediting the bill; and in conclusion it was so commanded. However, the chairman gave some stop to their haste: for, besides that at the end of his report every day to the house, before the question was put, he always enlarged himself against every one of the votes, and so spent them much time, he did frequently

^y Journals, May 27.

^z Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 238.

^a Ibid.

report two or three votes directly contrary to each other; so that, after near twenty days spent in that manner, they found themselves very little advanced towards a conclusion, and that they must review all they had done. At length, other occurrences intervening, they were forced to discontinue their beloved bill, and let it rest; sir Arthur Haselrig declaring in the house, that he would never hereafter put an enemy into the chair^b.”

CHAP.
III.
1641.

It is scarcely worth observing that the bill against episcopacy was read twice on the day of its introduction^c, except for the sake of illustrating the accuracy of our historian. The committee on the bill sat on the eleventh of June^d, exactly fifteen days after.

Here we have an instructive example of the character of a lawyer, full charged with all the pitiful tricks of his profession, and drawn with his own hand. At the most memorable crisis of the history of our country, and in the midst of a circle, says Warburton^e, of “the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause,” we perceive how the future historian of the period employed himself. I do not love Clarendon; but I could almost find in my heart to compassionate the despicable figure he makes.

^b p. 275, 276. ^c Journals, ubi supra. ^d Journals.

^e Notes on the Essay on Man, Ep. IV, verse 283.

CHAP.
III.

1641.

The historian takes great pains to persuade us, that nobody approved of the bill, that every body scouted it. In that case all his craft was a gratuitous exhibition, merely to shew how he excelled in the character. Would not any man who revered episcopacy, or who was capable of feeling in the smallest degree the deep sentiment and the vast importance of all that was now at stake, have been anxious that the question should be tried upon its intrinsic merits? He was certain of success, as he assures us, by the direct method (it is clear the bill would not at this time have passed the house of lords); but he had an invincible instinct impelling him to prefer the low, the indirect, and the dishonest: and it is a fitting retribution for such conduct, that five-and-twenty years afterwards, in old age and retirement, he felt no shame to record it.

It may not be improper to consider a little how it was that the bill could thus be defeated. On the first day the preamble was voted^f: on the second it was resolved, that the taking away the several offices of archbishops, bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, should be one clause of the bill^g: on the third a similar resolution was made against deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, and canons, only reserving a competent maintenance for such

^f Journals, June 11.^g Ibid. June 12.

as should not be found personally delinquent^h. On the subsequent days various questions arose respecting the maintenance to be allotted for the support of a fit number of preaching ministers for the service of the cathedrals, and the appointment of certain commissioners to exercise such ecclesiastical power as might be necessary, and which on the removal of bishops should not otherwise be provided forⁱ; and a sub-committee was named to report to the principal committee on these points^k. On the seventeenth of July a new form of church-government was voted in the committee of the whole house, that every shire in England should be a several diocese (Yorkshire being allowed three), that there should be a presbytery of twelve divines in each shire, with a president in each in the nature of a bishop, that these presidents, assisted by some of the presbytery, should have power to ordain, suspend, deprive, and excommunicate, that the presidents should be incapable of being translated from one diocese to another, and lastly, that a diocesan synod should be held once in a year, and a national synod once in three years^l.

It deserves to be mentioned, that on this occasion the celebrated Usher, archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, offered a scheme for consideration, as an expedient for reconciling the two systems of

Conduct of
archbishop
Usher on
the subject.

^h Ibid. June 15.

ⁱ Ibid. July 10.

^k Ibid. July 2, 6, 16.

^l Whitlocke, p. 46. Sanderson, p. 422.

CHAP. presbyterianism and episcopacy, reducing episcopacy to the form of synodical government which he supposed to have prevailed in the primitive church^m.

III.
1641.

Now let us compare all this with the assertions of Clarendon, that the bill for abolishing bishops was slighted at its first appearance, that it was scarcely permitted to be read, that nobody laid any stress upon it, and that it was only brought in for the purpose of operating as a rebuke upon the house of lords. Would the author and the supporters of the bill have taken so much pains on the subject, would they have digested and passed a completely new system of church-government, and would the house have employed twenty days in revising and perfecting the measure, notwithstanding every disingenuous artifice that was used to defeat it, if nothing serious had been intended by it? I infer that the party in favour of presbyterian government was at this time very strong in the house of commons, and that they were disposed to be contented with no less than the extirpation of bishops. We shall see nothing in the sequel tending to prove that this conclusion is erroneousⁿ.

^m Whitlocke, ubi supra.

ⁿ It is curious that Neal gravely quotes Clarendon, as an authority to prove that, at the first sitting down of the parliament, there were not above two or three members of both houses who were for the utter subversion of episcopacy. Neal, Vol. I, p. 716, Quarto

CHAP.
III.

1641.

King
makes a
journey to
Scotland.

The circumstance which suspended for the present the progress of the bill against episcopacy, was the king's proposed journey into Scotland. This journey is first mentioned in the journals of parliament on the twenty-third of June; but it did not commence till the tenth of August. The leaders of the measures in agitation, had constantly felt a repugnance to it; but, finding that it must take place, they endeavoured in the mean time to ripen those proceedings which were most urgent. They diligently applied themselves to the means for disbanding the English and Scottish armies that were now on foot. They passed two acts for abolishing the high-commission-court and the star-chamber, to which the king, after having for two days expressed an unavailing reluctance, annexed the royal assent^o. The bill for the confirmation of the treaty between the two kingdoms, was only passed on the very day that the king began his journey^p. Six days before, an impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanours was carried up to the house of lords against thirteen bishops, for their share in the canons and benevolence voted by the late convocation^q. The popular leaders seem to have been at some loss as to the most effectual

Thirteen
bishops im-
peached.

edition. "I have shewn from lord Clarendon, that both houses of parliament were almost to a man," &c.

^o Journals of Lords, July 3, 5. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 306, 307.

^p Ibid. Aug. 10.

^q Ibid. Aug. 4. •

CHAP.
III.

1641.

King takes
leave of the
two houses.

Impeach-
ment of the
thirteen bi-
shops de-
feated.

method of taking off the weight of the bishops in the house of peers. At one time they resolved to amerce the parties concerned in the obnoxious proceedings of the convocation to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds^r; but it was finally resolved to adopt the measure of an impeachment. None of these proceedings could have been palatable to the king; and it therefore strikes us as savouring of the simplicity of ancient manners that, just before Charles set out for Scotland, he sent a message by the solicitor general to the house of commons, in which among other things he observes, that when, two days before, he had bade the lords farewell, his intent was to both houses; and if he were not so understood, the solicitor-general was commanded to declare such to have been the king's meaning^a.

The impeachment thus brought in against the bishops was finally quashed. The parliament, in consideration of the king's absence, adjourned themselves for six weeks^t; and when they resumed their sittings, and the answer of the thirteen bishops to the impeachment of the commons was called for, instead of putting in a direct answer, they offered a plea and demurrer, which the

^r Journals of Commons, Apr. 27. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 235.
Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 7.

^a Journals of the Commons, Aug. 9.

^t Journals, Sep. 9.

lords entertained". The commons resented this proceeding, and the business was of consequence dropped.

CHAP.
III.

1641.

Archbi-
shop Wil-
liams.

The church however gained nothing by this miscarriage; and the mortal blow came from a quarter in which it was least to have been expected. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who had been appointed keeper of the great seal upon the dismissal of lord chancellor Bacon, had had much of the ear and the favour of James the First. Upon the accession of Charles, Laud became the favourite churchman; and he set himself, with the unsparing animosity which was one of his characteristics, to accomplish the ruin of the man whom he dreaded as a rival. Upon the most frivolous pretences Williams was sentenced by the star-chamber to be suspended from his bishopric, to be fined ten thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during pleasure. The fine was levied in the most unmerciful manner, by putting up all the bishop's goods and possessions to sale.^w When the victims of Laud and the star-chamber were delivered from their persecutions upon the meeting of the Long Parliament, Williams was brought out in triumph from his confinement, being claimed by the house of lords as one of its members. Whatever were the defects

^u Journals, Nov. 12.

^w Hacket, Life of Williams, Part II, p. 128.

CHAP.

III.

1641.

of the character of this conspicuous churchman, they were not at least similar to those of his persecutor; and, Laud being now the subject of popular odium, and the cause of episcopacy suffering on his account, Williams seems to have devoted himself very sincerely to support, as far as he could, his unfortunate persecutor^x. Williams, in consequence, was raised by the king to be archbishop of York.

King returns from Scotland.

Charles returned from Scotland with feelings of the most inveterate hostility to the leaders in the English parliament. The rebellion in Ireland had occurred in his absence; and the king formed the idea of raising an army, nominally for the purpose of quelling this rebellion, but which should be really employed to subdue the parliament. From their partisans in Scotland the house of commons well understood the measures which Charles had concerted for his return, and gave directions to Essex, whom the king had appointed commander-in-chief of the forces South of Trent, to place a suitable guard for the protection of parliament^y. The king insisted upon it that this guard should be dismissed; and, in his answer to an address on the subject, has these words: "We do engage unto you solemnly the word of a king, that the security of all and every one of you from vio-

^x History of the Troubles and Tryal of Laud.

^y Journals of Lords, Oct. 20. Clarendon, Vol. I, 299, 323.

lence, is and ever shall be our care, as much as the preservation of us and our children^z." Unfortunately this answer was delivered the day before that in which the king so memorably violated the privilege of parliament, by coming down in person to the house of commons to seize the five members.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

In the midst of the agitation of these proceedings the bishops were regarded by the people at large with peculiar ill-will; and Williams, having been insulted on his passage to the house of lords, courageously threw himself into the midst of the crowd to seize one of the most active of his assailants. He was repelled^a. Full of indignation at the treatment he received, he retired to his house, and prepared a protestation, stating that he and his brethren were prevented by violence from attending their duty in the house of lords, and declaring all laws, votes and resolutions, that should pass during the period of their constrained absence, to be null and void^b. The authority of Williams with his brethren was at this time great; and he immediately obtained the signature of eleven other bishops to the protestation. It was then submitted to the king, who declared his approbation of it, and ordered it to be delivered by the lord keeper to the house of lords^c.

Protestation of the bishops.

^a Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 471.

^a Ibid. p. 463.

^b Journals of Lords, December 30.

^c Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 350, 351.

C H A P.
III.

1641.

Nothing could be more unfortunate for the cause of episcopacy than this proceeding; and Williams, though a man of considerable reputation, certainly shewed himself very little of a politician in setting it on foot. As to Charles, it had always been his disposition, both in Scotland and here, to seek for nullities by which to set aside measures that he inwardly disliked. Nothing could be more apt for this purpose than the present protestation, which, if it were valid, would vitiate and undermine all proceedings in the two houses of parliament, till the bishops should think proper to resume their seats. But the apparent strength of the measure served only to render it impotent. The bishops must have been extremely shortsighted, not to have seen that they were treading on the edge of a precipice. They had hitherto had a majority of the house of lords in their favour; but that majority was in opposition to the sense of the commons, and of the nation; and they themselves constituted a material part of that majority. The house of lords was astonished and irritated at their presumption; their friends became alienated; their enemies emboldened. It was instantly voted that the protestation should be communicated to the commons; and along with the communication, the lords expressed their sense of the paper, as containing matters of high and dangerous import. The next day the commons brought up an impeachment of high treason against the individuals who had signed the protestation, and

Twelve bishops impeached and sent to the Tower.

they were immediately committed to the Tower of London^d.

The leaders of the popular cause saw their time. Immediately after the re-meeting of parliament in October, a bill had been brought into the house of commons to disable persons in holy orders from exercising temporal jurisdiction or authority^e. This bill was substantially the same with that which had been rejected by the lords four or five months before; and, after having been read a first time in the upper house, it was passed over without further notice. Instantly on the present occasion it was proposed that a message should be sent to the house of lords, to signify that, whereas the commons had sent up a bill to take away the votes of the bishops in parliament, and as they conceived that owing to various pressing businesses the lords had not yet taken it into consideration, they desired that it might be forwarded with all expedition^f. The upper house yet felt some hesitation on the subject; but on the fourth and fifth of February following they read the bill a second and a third time; and, a few days after, it received the royal assent.

There were two motives which animated the friends of liberty in both houses of parliament, in

CHAP.
III.

1641.
Bill to take
away the bi-
shops' votes.

1642.
passed by
the lords.
Feb. 14.

^d Journals of Lords, Dec. 30.
Journals, Dec. 31.

^e Journals, Oct. 21.

CHAP.

III.

1642.

Combina-
tion of the
English
and Scots
malcon-
tents.

their proceedings on the subject of church-govern-
ment at this time. *The first and principal un-*
doubtedly was a sincere zeal in the cause of reli-
gion, a strong disapprobation of prelacy, and of
the prelatiſcal proceedings in the reigns of Eliza-
beth, James the First, and Charles the First, and
a firm persuasion that the church of England as
it then stood, was in urgent need of an extensive
reform. A second motive, which came in aid of
the first, was the cordial sympathy and the inti-
mate correspondence which the great parliamen-
tary leaders here kept up with the heads of the
Scottish nation. A determined and firmly com-
pacted resistance to the arbitrary measures of
Charles began with that people; and from them
the English leaders had learned energy, confi-
dence and resolution. But the Scots, a solemn
and sedate nation, were at this time almost unani-
mously inspired with the fervent zeal of presby-
terianism. They believed, and they averred, that
a synodical government, under a parity of clergy
and elders, was of divine institution. They were
persuaded that a church otherwise constituted was
hardly in any way deserving to be called a Chris-
tian church; and they were smitten with an earn-
est passion to introduce, wherever it might be
possible, a system of church-government conform-
able to their own. Presbyterianism rested on two
points, the horror of sects and schisms, and the
love of republican equality in ecclesiastical mat-

ters. On the whole, the friends of liberty in England could not hope for the cordial co-operation of their northern neighbours, unless they also were found to be in principle presbyterians.

CHAP.
III.
1642.

Early in the year 1641 we find the house of commons voting a resolution, approving of the affection of their brethren of Scotland, in their desire of a conformity in church-government between the two nations, and promising, as they had already taken ecclesiastical reform into consideration, so to proceed in it in due time ^g. It cannot be doubted that a wish to secure the goodwill of the Scots had some share in causing the bill for abolishing^{*} bishops to be brought in, and in the severity with which the English house of commons proceeded against that order, on all occasions that offered themselves. It was not till nearly twelve months afterwards, that the two houses agreed upon a declaration, that they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, taking away nothing either in the one or the other, but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome. It is in this declaration that we find them first expressing their purpose, speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines for effecting the intended reformation^h. Shortly after a bill was brought into par-

Votes of the commons in favour of presbyterianism.

Declaration of the two houses in favour of a synod of divines.

Bill for a synod.

^g Journals, May 17, 1641.

^h Ibid. April 7, 8, 1642.

CHAP.
III.

1642.

passes the
lords.Both
houses of
parliament
declare a-
gainst epi-
scopacy.

liament for calling an assembly of divines, to be consulted with for the settling the government and liturgy of the church, and for vindicating its doctrine from aspersions and false interpretationsⁱ. In this bill the commons named two clergymen for each county, omitting Durham, and two for each of the universities respectively, which, including one for each of the Welsh counties, one for Jersey, one for Guernsey, and four for the metropolis, mounted the number to one hundred^k, to which the lords added fourteen more^l. The bill passed both houses in less than four weeks from the day of its introduction^m.

The king quitted his capital in January, and held his court at York in the March following. He set up his standard at Nottingham in August, and every thing was apparently hastening on both sides to open hostilities. It is in this situation that we find the next considerable measure on the subject of ecclesiastical affairs. In September the two houses of parliament concurred in an answer to the declaration of the general assembly of the church of Scotland respecting church-governmentⁿ. In this answer occurs the following passage.

ⁱ Journals of the Commons, May 9. Lords, May 20.^k Journals of the Commons, April 20, 21, 23, 25.^l Lords, May 26.^m Ibid. June 3, 4.ⁿ Journals of the Commons, Sep. 1. Lords, Sep. 2.

“The main cause which has hitherto deprived us of the advantages which we might otherwise have by a more close union with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches, is the government by bishops.—

CHAP.
III.
1642:

“Upon which and many other reasons we declare, that this government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons and other ecclesiastical officers, is evil, and that we are resolved that the same shall be taken away^o.”

Shortly after the close of the first campaign of the civil war, certain propositions were prepared, to be submitted to the king, as the foundation of a firm and lasting peace. These propositions originated in the house of lords^p. One of them was, that the king would be pleased to give his assent to certain bills therein named, and among them to a bill for the utter abolishing and taking away the government by bishops and their officers out of the church of England. A bill to this effect was brought into the house of commons on the thirtieth of December, and passed the lords on the twenty-sixth of January following^q.

Bill for that
purpose
carried
through
parliament.

^o Journals of the Lords, Sep. 10. ^p Journals, Dec. 9, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20.

^q From the above simple narrative extracted from the Journals, every one may judge of the fidelity and fairness of Clarendon's statement, who says, “By various artifices, and especially by concluding obstinately that no propositions should be sent to the king, till the

CHAP.
III.

1642.

Stage-play
suppressed.

A further particular, which has a close connection with the religious sentiments of the leaders of the parliament, is the proceedings adopted by them on the subject of plays and players. On the eve of the actual commencement of hostilities an order was made by the two houses, that during the present period of calamity, "when humiliation and prayer better befitted the state of public affairs than lascivious mirth and levity," all public stage-plays should cease and be forborne^r. It was not till the end of the year 1647, that a general interdict was established against such exhibitions, as having been "condemned by ancient heathens, and by no means to be tolerated among professors of the Christian religion^s." What was the precise state of the stage between these two periods, we have no sufficient documents to inform us. As theatrical exhibitions were discountenanced and disapproved by the ruling powers, we may be sure that they were

bill for the extirpation of bishops was passed the lords' house (where it would never otherwise have been submitted to), those who every day did somewhat, how little soever taken notice of, to make peace impossible, had their desire." Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 117, 118. In the original proposition in the lords (the bill not having yet been adopted), it stands, "That your majesty will confirm the declaration passed in both houses, for the taking away of bishops, deans, and chapters." Journals of the Lords, December 20.

^r Journals, Sep. 2, 1642.^s Journals of Lords, Oct. 22, 1647. Feb. 11, 1648.

not practised unless in an obscure and clandestine manner.

This policy in the leaders of the Long Parliament is alien to our habits and modes of thinking, and is therefore at first sight calculated to excite our disapprobation. We are in a manner impelled to ascribe it to narrow bigotry and an ascetic and gloomy temper of mind. But this may not altogether be the case. Nor is it reasonable for us to require, that men of other times, and subject to different impressions, should in all cases see with our eyes, and judge with our judgments.

In the mean time nothing perhaps can more fully prove the profoundness of the views of these leaders, than the measures adopted by them on this very subject. It was their aim to new mould the character of the people of England. The nation had hitherto subsisted under a king; they were desirous to change the government into a republic. Nothing can be more unlike than the different frames of public mind demanded under these two forms of government. Wherever a court exists, and possesses considerable authority in a country, the manners and habits of the court will diffuse themselves on every side. In such a country there must always be a certain degree of frivolity and suppleness, an artificial character, and an outside carriage, not precisely flowing from the heart of the man who presents himself, but intended to answer a temporary purpose, and

CHAP.
III.

1642.
Grounds of
this pro-
ceeding.

CHAP.
III.

1642.

taken up with a design to win the good graces of him to whom it is addressed.

It is not the direct purpose of history to pronounce on the merit of different forms of government. But, without doing this, it may assist us to decide on the policy of statesmen, and enable us to perceive how far their means are adapted to the ends they have in view. The republicans in the Long Parliament were called upon to endeavour to substitute, for the manners of a court as they become modified in the different ranks of society, a severe, a manly, and an independent mode of feeling. If there were many religious enthusiasts among these leaders, on the other hand we well know there were men who were not the slaves of prejudice. The religious enthusiast himself, if he is a man of high capacity, will not by this particular bias of mind be robbed of his characteristic penetration. In fact the different views of both classes led to the same point. If the enthusiasts condemned the exhibitions of the theatre as inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion, the statesmen coincided with them in this for a different purpose. They applied themselves to make use of the materials in their hands. They were not uninfluenced by the prejudices of their contemporaries, and they skilfully managed those prejudices to accomplish the object they had specially at heart.

View of the

Athens and Rome, it is true, had theatrical

CHAP.
III.1642.
stage as it
existed in
England.

exhibitions; but the case there was widely different. Their plays were the offspring of their respective republics; they were written under the auspices of that form of government; and were calculated to render the spectators better commonwealths-men, and not worse. But in England it was not so. It is true, and begins now to be universally acknowledged, that the dramatic productions of this country, from the revival of the theatre to the period of which we are treating, are superior to the dramatic productions of all other ages and countries. The men of the period of the civil war were not entirely sensible of this. But that is not the point. The plays which had been written in the preceding sixty years, were impregnated with the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience. Kings were represented in them as persons too sacred to be called in question and contended with by their subjects: loyalty was shewn as one of the first of virtues. Among many splendid and admirable moral sentiments, dissolute and profligate manners nevertheless abounded. Every thing appeared relaxed and thoughtless, sometimes impudent, sometimes tender, scarcely ever with a firm and undaunted purpose. Such plays were not wanted, more particularly in the beginning of the commonwealth. It was the purpose, as has been said, of the leaders of the commonwealth-party, to change and to fix the tone of mind of the peo-

CHAP.
III.

1642.

ple of England ; and whatever was calculated, particularly with such allurements and appliances, to bring back our old follies, was hostile to the object these men had in view. The presbyterian system of church-government was in many respects well adapted to foster republican sentiments ; and it was not to be desired that any other habitual scene of things should occur, that might have a tendency to counteract them. Even, in the language of the parliamentary ordinance, “ lascivious mirth and levity,” were friendly to the royal cause, and hostile to that of the commonwealth.

Policy of
the measure
adopted.

Superficial and disdainful judges, it is true, are disposed to overlook these things, as unworthy a serious attention. But there cannot be a greater mistake. It was no contemptible observer of human nature that said, “ Let who will write the philosophy of a nation ; give me the writing their ballads.” There are in fact two kinds of dogmas that are equally sound in different respects on this subject. If I can convince the master-minds of a nation, I may in some degree count upon carrying every thing before me. In taste, in opinions, in moral sentiments, in religion, the common people do but follow the example set them by their betters. The strong intellects go before, and the vulgar, both great and small, tread in the steps of their leaders. But this is a work of time ; and the maxim can only be applied where we have a

large space to act in. In the present case it was necessary for the statesmen to improve their opportunity, to bring up the public mind as rapidly as might be to the frame required, and to keep off such influences as should counteract and weaken this frame. A manly and energetic tone must be diffused through the community: "vain, deluding joys, the brood of folly without father bred," must be banished. And under these circumstances it would be most appropriate to say, in the language of the prologue to Addison's tragedy,

Such plays alone should *claim* a British ear,
As Cato's self had not disdained to hear."

Another circumstance of the times, of somewhat the same character as the preceding, was the determination to send commissions into all the counties for the defacing, demolishing, and taking away all images, superstitious pictures, and relicts of idolatry out of churches and chapels, wherever they might be found. A resolution to that purpose was voted by the house of commons in January 1641^v; and a bill accordingly was brought in, and read a first and a second time,

Monu-
ments of
idolatry
proscribed.

1641.

^t Milton, *Il Penseroso*.

^u Milton's *Mask at Ludlow Castle*, which had been printed separately in 1637, was republished by the author, in a volume of *Poems*, in 1645.

^v *Journals*, Jan. 23.

CHAP.

III.

1643.

in the following month ^w; but it did not finally pass into a law till August 1643^x. This ordinance provided, that all such removals of images and pictures should be carefully done, and the breaches or injuries occasioned to the building be immediately repaired: and further enacted, that nothing contained in the ordinance should be construed to extend to any image, picture or coat of arms, set up or erected as a monument to any king, prince, or nobleman, or other dead person, who had not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint^y. The hands however of individual zealots, and of multitudes inflamed against episcopal bigotry and superstition, outran the soberer prescriptions of the law. In the demolition of images, and the destruction of painted windows, much outrage was exercised: and, though the ordinance had made a special provision in that point, the tombs of the illustrious dead were not always exempt from the indiscretion of religious zeal. Charing Cross may be particularly instanced, as coming in vain within the exemption prescribed, being “erected as a monument to a dead person [queen Eleanor], who had not commonly been reputed or taken for a saint.”

The Ro-
mish mass
described.

One of the superstitions most revolting to the simple and unornamented scheme of presbyterian and puritan worship, was the celebration of the

- ^w Ibid. Feb. 5, 13. ^x Journals of Lords, Aug. 26, 1643. ^y Ibid.

mass. This was built upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, or, as it was called in the Lutheran churches, consubstantiation, according to which the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The ever ready inference from this position in the mind of the Catholic was, that the mass is a sacrifice, and that, as Christ was once sacrificed on the cross for the sins of mankind, so this sacrifice is repeated and renewed whenever the communion is solemnized. The puritans detested the ceremonies practised on these occasions as idolatry; and, whenever either priest or people bowed or kneeled before the sacred elements, believing them to be nothing less than integral parts of the human nature of the Saviour, their adversaries pronounced this to be nothing less than blasphemy and a mortal sin. They were in consequence eager to banish all those mummeries and that ostentation, which in their opinion desecrated the rites of Christian religion. The name and the form of an altar in the celebration was odious in their eyes. The peculiar vestments, the consecrated candles, and the incense burned before the host, excited their abhorrence. Many of these were retained in the episcopal church of England, and more were restored by the zeal or superstition of Laud^y. All

^y Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 77, 207, 273.

CHAP.
III.1643.
Policy of
the measure
examined.

these were now comprehended under the name of monuments of idolatry, and condemned in the ordinance that was passed.

The parliamentary ordinance on the subject of images and relicts of idolatry is not less in opposition to our present modes of thinking, than that which related to theatrical exhibitions. At this distance of time we can look back with entire indifference to the question; and, considering the objects which the zeal of our ancestors destroyed, merely as so many records of the skill, the taste, and the character of preceding ages, our sentiments would rather dictate to us an earnestness for their careful preservation.

But we cannot do justice to the deeds of former times, if we do not in some degree remove ourselves from the circumstances in which we stand, and substitute those by which the real actors were surrounded. The statue of Jupiter was a very different thing at the first superseding of the pagan religion, from what it is now. To us it is a monument of art, and nothing more. But at that time it was connected with errors, as yet perhaps imperfectly exploded. To us it can be productive of no mischief; but at that time it may be, in obedience to the new tone and revolution of the human mind, it was necessary it should be removed. Whenever the imagination becomes filled with the conceptions of past times, nothing can be more natural than that we should regret

the absence of the features by which they were distinguished, and wish almost that we could become the fresh witnesses of their scenery and their superstitions. It is under such impressions that the children of fancy have sometimes lamented that "the age of chivalry is gone." But this is contrary to the sound order of human affairs. "The former things have passed away; all things are become new."

CHAP.
III.
1643.

Great changes cannot take place in the minds of generations of men, without a corresponding change in their external symbols. There must be a harmony between the inner and the outward condition of human beings; and the progress of the one must keep pace with the progress of the other. The most skilful leaders in the period of which we treat, meditated an important innovation; they designed to introduce a more simple and a severer tone of religious profession, and a more manly spirit in the ordinary conduct of life; and to this end it was necessary that much which had become superfluous should be removed. We judge them now with a certain harshness, because all their labours in the ultimate result became to a great degree nugatory. But we ought notwithstanding to do justice to the steadiness and sagacity with which their intentions were prosecuted.

The Protestantism of Charles the First and archbishop Laud, if indeed it is to be called Protestantism, is of a kind that has long since pe-

Religious
views of
Charles the
First and
Archbishop
Laud.

CHAP.
III.

1643.

rished from the face of the earth. The former, before he came to the crown, expressed, in a letter to pope Gregory the Fifteenth, his admiration of his ancestors, the kings of this island, who had “so often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy chair,” and “intreated his holiness to believe that he had always been very far from encouraging novelties, or being a partisan against the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, and that he would employ himself in time to come to have but one religion and one faith, seeing that they all believed in Jesus Christ^z.” And Laud on his trial confessed that he had been offered a cardinal’s hat, but added that he had refused it, feeling that “something dwelt in him, which would not suffer him to accept the offer, till Rome was otherwise than now it was^a.” He further owned, that he had “often wished for a reconciliation between the churches of England and Rome in a just and christian way, and had long endeavoured to effect it^b.” It is not therefore to be wondered at that the parliamentary leaders of 1640 desired greatly to vary the constitution of the church of England from the model which Charles and the archbishop approved.

Case of lord
Strafford.

The execution of the earl of Strafford, though, strictly speaking, it scarcely enters into the plan of this history, is an event too memorable to be

^z Birch, *Enquiry concerning Glamorgan*, p. 286, 287, 288.

^a Trial of Laud, Published by Authority, p. 548.

^b Ibid. p. 556.

passed over in silence. It will afford considerable aid in enabling us to judge of the character and views of the first leaders in the Long Parliament.

CHAP.
III.



Sir Thomas Wentworth was descended of a family which made a distinguished figure among the revivers of popular liberty in the reign of Elizabeth; and, inheriting their spirit, he incurred the displeasure of the court in the beginning of the reign of Charles. In 1626 he was appointed a sheriff, for the purpose of preventing his being elected a member of parliament, and in the following year was committed to prison for refusing the royal loan^c. But he was shortly after

^c Rushworth, Vol. I, p. 428. Strafford's Letters, Vol. I, p. 29 to 40. Mr. Brodie [History of the British Empire from Charles I. to the Restoration] has undertaken to prove that the early part of the life of Strafford has been misrepresented; and he has shewn that in one unimportant instance Rushworth [Vol. I, p. 217] seems to have confounded him with a Mr. Thomas Wentworth, member of parliament for the city of Oxford. But the man who was pricked for sheriff to prevent his being returned to Charles's second parliament, who was sent to prison for his strenuous resistance to the forced loan, and who joined with sir John Elliot, sir Robert Philips and sir Francis Seymour, in the energetic and judicious measures of the third parliament in 1638, is surely sufficiently entitled to be classed among the patriots of the day. His conversion however was sufficiently sudden. Charles's third parliament was prorogued, June 26, 1638, and Strafford was created a baron, July 22 in the same year. The duke of Buckingham, to whom he had formerly been an adversary, but was now become a friend [Strafford's Letters, Vol. II, p. 430], was assassinated on the twenty-third of the following month

CHAP.
III.

bought off by the king, being successively created a baron, a viscount, and earl of Strafford, and being appointed lord president of York, and lord deputy of Ireland. He was doubtless a man of great energy of character: if he had continued true to his first principles, he would have proved one of the most formidable adversaries of the court; and having deserted them, he was a most dangerous foe to the public liberty. His temper was unscrupulous and vindictive; and having engaged in the party of the king, he would, if possible, have carried it through at all hazards. During the treaty with the Scots at Rippon, which had followed upon the route at Newburn, he endeavoured to persuade the king unexpectedly to renew hostilities, and assured him of success; and it seems certain that it was his plan, to bring over the army from Ireland to subdue the refractoriness of the English parliament. If Strafford had been suffered to continue his career unmolested, the triumph of public liberty would have been put off, if it had not been baffled for ever.

1640.
He is im-
peached.

Accordingly, nearly the first measure of the champions of freedom in the Long Parliament was the impeachment of Strafford. Never was any measure more necessary, or more universally approved by all those who were engaged in the popular cause. Undismayed by the formidable mass of talent arrayed against him, this unfortunate nobleman conducted his defence with the greatest ability. The trial occupied a period of

1641.

eighteen days. "Certainly," says Whitlocke, who was himself one of the conductors of the prosecution, "never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did^d." The consequence was, that "he moved the hearts of all who heard him, with some few exceptions, to remorse and pity^d:" and he certainly proved beyond confutation, that he had done nothing that, in strict construction fell within the provisions of the statute of treasons of Edward the Third^e.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

It becomes therefore a great question, in what manner the prosecution of the earl of Strafford ought to have terminated. The enormity of his guilt, assuming that it is criminal to invade, and meditate to destroy, the liberties of a nation, will hardly be questioned. The object of the statute of Edward the Third, is to defend the king; it has scarcely ever been contemplated, by any law to defend the great body of the people associated under him. Are their interests therefore always

Justice of
his sentence
considered.

^d Whitlocke, p. 44.

^e It ought to be stated, that a reference having been made to the judges present, they unanimously declared that "the earl of Strafford deserved to undergo the pains and forfeitures of high treason by law." Lords' Journals, May 6.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

to be assailed with impunity? These are principles undoubtedly, more binding than, and which disdain to be confined within the letter of, any positive statute.

It is questionless desirable in all ordinary cases, wherever positive law is established, to restrain ourselves within the letter of that law, and to allow the criminal all the benefit, if benefit to him shall result, of any evasion or escape that the law shall afford him. A court of justice ought not to strain or wrench the commandment to the destruction of the person arraigned; it affords an ill example; and when once a relaxation of this sort is admitted into the construction of a law, there is no foreseeing where it will end.

Law is that which restrains the individual, and even restrains the whole community, from exercising their natural liberty of being the judge and the chastiser of their own wrongs. But there are cases of an extraordinary nature, which reinvest the community in the entire rights they possessed before particular laws were established.

No one, as I have said, who is a friend to public liberty, can question the guilt of the earl of Strafford; his accusation and his conviction were of the substance of eternal right; his defence was technical. Several conscientious men in those days were on the whole for his acquittal^f; more

^f Selden's name is in the list of those who voted against the bill of attainder.—Such, after all, is the best of lawyers.

have been so since. We argue the case in cool blood; and are not made clear-sighted by the actually flowing and existing light of the public welfare, which then discovered what was requisite to be done.

Law is made for man; and not man for the law. Wherever we can be sure that the most valuable interests of a nation require that we should decide one way, that way we ought to decide. Strafford was at that day the most dangerous man to the liberties of England then present, and to come, that could live.

It has been suggested in relation to this case², that, "when once a man is in a situation to be tried, and his person in the power of his accusers and his judges, he can no longer be formidable in that degree which alone can justify (if any thing can) the violation of the substantial rules of criminal proceedings." Hampden, and Pym, and the great men who then consulted together for the public welfare, I believe, in their consciences judged otherwise. They understood the character of the king, and of all the parties concerned with him, better than we can pretend to do. They foresaw the probability of a civil war. They foresaw, which was more than this, the various schemes that would be formed for dispersing the parliament by force of arms, and they knew that Strafford would prove the most inventive and audacious undertaker for this nefarious

² Fox, History of James the Second, p. 10.

CHAP.
III.

1641.

purpose. Whatever engagements Charles had entered into, "of removing Strafford from his presence and councils for ever," he would have considered these as annulled the moment the sword was drawn. The prince, who contemplated the bringing the army to overawe the parliament before it had sat two months, and who negotiated afterwards to bring over an army of Irish Catholics, such as were the Irish Catholics of those days, to settle the difference between himself and his people, certainly would not have scrupled the employing of Strafford. What would have been the variation in the result, we have no means of knowing. There was undoubtedly no man in the service of the king, who for talents or energy could enter into the slightest competition with Strafford. Hampden, and Pym, and their allies, judged they did wisely, and acted like true patriots, by removing this obstacle before the contention began.

A proviso was inserted in the act of attainder of the case of Strafford, that "no judges or other magistrates should adjudge any thing to be treason, in any other manner than they would have adjudged if this act had never been made." This has been used as an argument to prove that the prosecutors of Strafford were conscious of the injustice they committed. It proves no such thing. It rather serves to illustrate the clearness of their conceptions, and the equability of their temper. Undoubtedly the prosecutors of Strafford were

firmly averse to this proceeding being drawn into a precedent. Undoubtedly they were strongly persuaded that in all ordinary cases the letter of the law should be observed, and no man be condemned unless that were against him.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

For myself, I entertain an almost invincible abhorrence to the taking away the life of man, after a set form, and in cool blood, in any case whatever. The very circumstance that you have the man in your power, and that he stands defenceless before you to be disposed of at your discretion, is the strongest of all persuasives that you should give him his life. To fetter a man's limbs, and in that condition to shed his blood like the beasts who serve us for food, is a thought to which, at first sight, we are astonished the human heart can ever be reconciled. The strongest case that can be made in its favour, is where, as in this business of Strafford, the public cause, and the favourable issue of that cause, seem to demand it.

The earl of Strafford was executed on the twelfth of May. Charles undoubtedly was willing to do much to save him; and he appears to have regarded it as one of the greatest faults with which he could reproach himself, that he had ever given his assent to the bill of attainder^h. It has not however ordinarily been observed that the king came down to the house of lords, and passed se-

He is executed.
Conduct of Charles on the occasion.

^h Speech on the Scaffold, 30 January 1649.

CHAP.
III.
1641.

veral bills in person, the day after Strafford's deathⁱ. On the first of May he made a speech to his parliament on the subject of his minister, in which among other expressions he said: "To satisfy my people I would do great matters: but this of conscience, no fear, no respect whatever shall ever make me go against it^k:" on the tenth the act of attainder received the royal assent by commission: on the twelfth Strafford suffered: and the next day, when his blood was hardly yet cold, Charles voluntarily came down to meet and to face those who had extorted from him his unwilling fiat.

Conduct of
Hollis.

The conduct of Hollis on this occasion ought to be mentioned, as tending to illustrate the character of one of the conspicuous parliamentary leaders of this period. It is thus related by Burnet from Hollis's lips. "The earl of Strafford had married his sister: so, though in the parliament he was one of the hottest men of the party, yet when that matter was before them, he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was passed, the king sent for him, to know what he could do to save the earl of Strafford. Hollis answered that, if the king pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would not advise it. That which he proposed

ⁱ Journals of Lords.

^k Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 239.

was, that lord Strafford should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs, and to prepare for death; upon which he advised the king to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houses, with a speech which he drew for the king; and Hollis said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many by assuring them that, if they would save lord Strafford, he would become wholly theirs in consequence of his first principles; and that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed, if the king's party had struck into it, he might have saved him¹. But the queen defeated this, by substituting a mean and pitiful letter, written with the king's own hand, and delivered to the house of lords by the prince of Wales in person, being then just eleven years of age^m.

All this scarcely deserves a comment. Hollis was a patriot; but of that stamp, who considered his country much, but the man who had married his sister more. Though "in the parliament he was hot," he concerted clandestinely with the king how their purposes might be defeated. But

¹ Burnet, Own Time, Book I.

^m Journals of Lords, May 11.

CHAP. what is most worthy of notice, is his undertaking
III. that if Strafford, condemned to death for high
1641. treason, were spared by the parliament, he "would
become wholly theirs in consequence of his first
principles," and be eminently serviceable to the
cause of them by whom he had been condemned.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1643. — OFFICERS. — ESSEX. —
 HAMPDEN. — WALLER. — SKIPPON. — FAIRFAX.
 — CROMWEL. — DEATH OF HAMPDEN. —
 CHARLES DENOUNCES THE TWO HOUSES NOT A
 FREE PARLIAMENT. — WALLER DEFEATED. —
 BRISTOL SURRENDERS TO THE KING.

THE campaign of 1643 was commenced by the parliamentary army under the same auspices as that of the preceding year. The men who consulted with sincerity and zeal for the public cause were reduced to great difficulties on this point. It was but too certain that Essex and his confidential connections fought with views of their own, and were in the utmost degree averse to the pushing the war to an extremity. Their military proceedings had a double meaning: they seemed to fight for victory, when in reality their object was compromise.

Beside every other objection which might be made to this policy, it was obviously pregnant with much danger to the common cause. When two parties contend in the field, one in serious

CHAP.
IV.

1643.

Commencement
of the cam-
paign.

Policy of
Essex.

Its pernicious ten-
dency.

CHAP.
IV.

1649.

earnest, and the other as in a school of war, with weapons muffled, and with a caution not to strike too home, they are not on equal terms, and there is great reason to fear, that, while the latter is preluding, shaking the dart, and yet afraid to hit, the different purpose and temper of the other may take his adversary by surprise, and give the finishing blow at a time when it was least apprehended. Beside which, men who do not contend in earnest, can have little warmth and fervour in what they undertake, and are more than half prepared to betray the cause, in the vindication of which they have engaged their services.

Hampden
thought of
for the com-
mand.

The most ardent of the leaders in the parliamentary councils, had their eyes fully open to this evil, and were anxious to apply an adequate remedy. The strongest and the most effectual was to supersede Essex, and substitute in his room a man in whose intentions and abilities they might fully confide. There was one person upon whom rumour and public opinion fixed, as alone all-sufficient for this purpose, Hampden^a. Of his superlative talents all men were persuaded. Little as there is of this great man now upon record, we are not qualified to say in what manner he had acquired so consummate a character. We only know that he possessed "the most absolute spirit

^a Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, art. Hampden.

and the scrupulousness of his honour^c, combined with manners in the utmost degree cordial and easy, gave him an extraordinary ascendancy among those of his own rank, as well as with all such as regarded the claims of birth and fortune with particular complacency. Not destitute of talents, yet the talents of Essex were not such as to give umbrage and alarm to those with whom he was connected: he served rather as a central mark round which for those of his own party to rally, than as a man of imperial mind, to whom they were bound to submit, and by whom they must implicitly be guided. Essex in a word was not a leader that could be discarded, but at the expence of imminent hazard.

We are not sufficiently in the secret of the councils of this period, to know whether it was Hampden or his friends that put a bar on the half-formed project in his favour. As he was the person of most discernment among them, it was probably he that required they should proceed no further. Hampden, we may well believe, was a man not to shrink from the performance of a duty, because it was arduous. He felt what he was capable of achieving, if all circumstances were favourable to the execution of the task he should undertake. But he would not sacrifice the practicable to the splendid. Ambition, we are entitled to say, had no charms for him when it involved the risk of

^c This term is to be understood with great limitations. See the next Chapter.

CHAP.

IV.

1643.

Waller.

a great public good ; and even among things beneficial to the public he was instructed to prefer the less excellent that was within his reach, to that which was superior in intrinsic value, but which could hardly be hoped to be attained.

The project of superseding the earl of Essex in the command being judged too hazardous, the next idea that suggested itself was that of setting up another general, whose reputation and character might balance that of the commander in chief, who might perhaps hereafter, if a suitable occasion occurred, be substituted in his place, but who at all events, by dividing the military ascendancy with Essex, might shew the aristocracy that there was another force at work, capable of balancing the authority they were desirous to engross. It was not judged congruous, that Hampden, who had hitherto, more than any other individual, directed the counsels of the parliament, and upon whom "the eyes of all men were fixed, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it^b," should be placed in this tentative and experimental situation. The individual that was fixed on for the purpose, was sir William Waller^c, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at large in the sequel.

State of the
parliamentary
army.

These ideas however were by no means allowed to interfere with the preparations for opening the

^b Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 265.

^c Ibid p. 278.

campaign with effect on the part of Essex ; and so diligent was the committee appointed by parliament for the conduct of the war, that an army, more numerous and better accoutred than that of the preceding year, with all necessary accommodations and appendages, was ready to march under this commander, the very day on which the negotiations at Oxford had closed ^d.

CHAP.
IV.
1648.

April 15.

One improvement which had taken place in this army during the winter, was the nomination of Skippon, a soldier eminently distinguished for integrity, courage and spirit, to the office of serjeant major-general, in the room of sir John Merrick, who was himself appointed general of the ordnance instead of the earl of Peterborough, deceased ^e.

Skippon.

Some degree of dissention and difference of opinion appeared however in this army at the commencement of the campaign. Hampden, and those persons who were most in earnest in the cause, recommended that they should proceed immediately to the siege of Oxford, where the king and his court were. Clarendon himself confesses, that if this measure had been adopted, it would have been attended with eminent success ^f. Oxford was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison supplied with provisions : add to which, the town was crowded with nobility and ladies, who

Hampden
proposes the
siege of Ox-
ford.

^d Ibid. p. 228. ^e England's Worthies, art. Skippon. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 230. ^f Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 238.

CHAP.
IV.

1643.

Reading
surrenders.

April 27.

Critical si-
tuation of
the royal-
ists.

were so impatient of alarm, that every attempt at resistance would have encountered the greatest disadvantage.

Essex however decided against this enterprise, in which determination he was supported by the old soldiers, and accordingly formed the siege of Reading. This place was defended by a garrison of four thousand men; but, after a siege of ten days, the place was surrendered upon terms, the garrison being permitted to march away with their sick and wounded, only giving up their arms. The besieging army had suffered considerably, from the earliness of the season, and the inclemency of the weather, the more especially as they consisted, to a great extent, of raw recruits^g.

Now however the question again occurred, of the parliamentary army marching straight against Oxford. If they had incurred some disadvantages in the interval, they had also acquired new courage and boldness from their recent success. Clarendon again assures us, that if Essex had made a shew at this time, of advancing with his whole body in that direction, he verily believes that Oxford and all the other garrisons in those parts would have been quitted to him^h. The king had already deliberated respecting a retreat into the north, to join the forces under the earl of Newcastle and the queen, who had landed in Yorkshire^h; an enterprise that, if successful, which

^g Ibid. p. 229.^h Ibid. p. 243.

was by no means certain, would nevertheless have changed the whole face of the war, in favour of his adversaries. But Essex wasted his time in the neighbourhood of Reading; and the alarm which had been conceived by the king and the officers of the royal army, had time to subside.

CHAP.
IV.
1643.

In the mean time other generals were forming in different parts of the kingdom, in proportion as these were made the theatre of the war.

One person who was looked to, as likely to prove eminent in the military service of the parliament, was sir William Waller. He was of an ancient family, and had pretensions to the fief of Winchester Castle, and the office of hereditary chief-butler of Englandⁱ. He had devoted his early years to the study of the art of war, and had served with credit in the armies of the German princes confederated against the emperor^l. Waller was a member of the committee of safety, and had raised a troop of horse for the parliament in the beginning of the war. He himself tells us that his first connections were among the Independents^k. All these circumstances seemed to point him out as particularly adapted to their purpose, to those persons who looked furthest towards the issue of the war, and were most resolved against temporising and half-faced measures.

ⁱ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, art. Waller.

^k *Vindication by Himself*, p. 9.

CHAP.

IV.

1643.

The first separate employment he obtained had been merely to lead a detachment of the earl of Essex's army; and, before the end of the year 1642, he took Portsmouth¹. From thence he proceeded again with unabated success against Winchester, Chichester and Hereford^m; and having, by a night-march in which he was equally dextrous and successful, reached the Severn, he crossed the river in certain flat-bottomed boats which he had appointed to meet him, and took prisoners or dispersed the whole of a little army that the royalists had marched against Gloucesterⁿ. By these exploits he gained great reputation both with the parliament and the city, and during that period was distinguished among his admirers by the nickname of William the Conqueror^o. Having completed these various achievements, he again marched back to the principal army, and joined the earl of Essex at the siege of Reading^p. His subsequent exploits, however did not answer to these beginnings; and his military reputation was speedily eclipsed by the achievements of more illustrious competitors.

1642.
Lord Fairfax.

When Charles had seen his consort embark for the continent in February 1642, he proceeded by

¹ Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 711, et seqq. Vol. II, p. 19.

^m Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 92, 100, 263.

ⁿ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 156.

^o Ibid. p. 278.

^p Ibid. p. 157.

slow stages to York. The first hostility which took place was at Hull, where sir John Hotham, having been appointed governor by the parliament, though he received the duke of York and the prince-electors into the garrison as visitors, yet refused the next day [April 23] admission to the king and his train ^a. Charles removed soon after to the south; but, before the close of the year, he appointed Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, to the command of the four northern counties ^r, while the executive government for the parliament devolved the conduct of the war in these parts upon lord Fairfax, one of the representatives for the county of York ^s. A very active war of posts took place between these two commanders ^t; and sir Thomas Fairfax, appointed general of the horse under his father ^u, began to form himself to that military skill which was afterwards so effectually displayed in the progress of the war. In the month of June 1643 however, the campaign in this quarter took an unfavourable turn for the parliament: Newcastle gave a great defeat to the parliamentary army at Atherton Moor ^w; while in the mean time he had opened a correspondence

Sir Thomas
Fairfax.

1643.

Parliament
forces de-
feated at
Atherton
Moor.
June 30.

^a Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 567.

^r Life of the Duke of Newcastle by his Duchess. p. 12.

^s Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 142. ^t Fairfax, Memorials.

^u Life of Newcastle, p. 25.

^w Ibid. p. 30. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 279.

CHAP.
IV.

1643.

Lord Fairfax gains possession of Hull. July 3.

with Hotham, who agreed to shut out the Fairfaxes, of whom he was jealous, from the town of Hull ^x. This coincidence of the treachery of Hotham, and the defeat at Atherton Moor, threatened to bring the war to a termination in that quarter. But the parliament gained intelligence in time of the infidelity of their officer, and the plot was defeated. Hotham was thrown into chains, and afterwards with his son suffered death for the breach of his engagements; and lord Fairfax was appointed to succeed him in the government of the town ^y. Thus the remains of the parliamentary army in the north were saved; and the king's forces were kept within limits. No man made a more advantageous figure in the field in the subsequent scenes of the war than sir Thomas Fairfax ^z.

^x Whitlocke, p. 70. Rushworth, p. 275. ^y Journals, July 11.

^z It is sufficiently memorable that, soon after the king's arrival at York, and when symptoms began to display themselves of his assembling a military guard round his person, sir Thomas Fairfax was intrusted by a meeting of gentlemen of the county to present a petition to Charles, intreating him to yield to the expostulations of the parliament. The king it seems determined to refuse receiving the petition; and sir Thomas, in the ardour of youth and patriotic zeal, was judged to urge it upon the attention of the sovereign with undue importunity. "He pressed with that instance and intention, in the presence of eighty or a hundred thousand people of the county, till at last he tendered the petition on the pommel of the king's saddle (Sprigge, p. 8)." There is a tradition, that Charles, 'offended with the perseverance of the young man, suddenly turned his horse, and with a shock of the breast of the

defeated the first division of Newcastle's army, and killed their commander; but this nobleman, coming up in full force soon after, changed the fortune of the war, and Cromwel was obliged to retreat in his turn. Newcastle took possession, first of Gainsborough, and then of Lincoln ^h.

CHAP.
IV.

1643.

Such was the state of hostilities in different quarters, when Essex was at length roused from his inactivity near Reading, by the murmurs that rose on every side, and advanced towards Oxford. He fixed his head-quarters at Thame, ten miles from that city: but the body of his forces, discouraged by delay, and broken with sickness, lay dispersed at some distance from their general. A treacherous advice of this was conveyed to prince Rupert, nephew of Charles, and brother to the elector palatine, who immediately planned a night expedition, in which, making a circuit of the enemy, he fell upon two regiments, quartered at Wycombe, thirty miles from London, which he cut to pieces, or made prisoners ⁱ. Intelligence however being speedily conveyed, Essex set out with a sufficient force to intercept the prince in his return. The parties encountered each other at Chalgrave; but Rupert got off with his booty, and Hampden, who had joined in the pursuit as a volunteer, was killed ^k. Thus perished this illustrious leader in an obscure skir-

Essex
marches in-
to Oxford-
shire.

June.

June 17.

Death of
Hampden.

^h Ibid. p. 279, 280.

ⁱ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 261.

^k June 13. Hampden expired on the 24th. Rushworth, Vol. V,

CHAP.
IV.
1643.

mish, brought on by the misconduct of his general, and the treachery of one of his brothers of the war¹. So variable is the destiny of human affairs; and so perpetually do the mightiest events hang upon the most insignificant or unworthiest causes. Never was a great leader cut off at a season apparently more unfortunate. If the cause in which Hampden was engaged could have depended on one man, it would have been buried in the grave of its most consummate advocate and supporter. His death, Clarendon says, occasioned "as great a consternation to his friends, as if their whole army had been defeated and cut off;" while at the same time, he adds, it was in reality "a great deliverance to the nation^m."

The minutest circumstances which belong to such an event have been found to be interesting. One of the prisoners taken by Rupert, made the first report of it to his captors. He said, that he saw Hampden ride off the field while the action

p. 274. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, art. Hampden. Clarendon says, he died "within three weeks:" a slight trait, but that indicates the inveteracy of the writer.

¹ The name of the traitor was Hurry.

^m Vol. II, p. 264, 267. By "the nation" Clarendon means "the king." Meanwhile it is unavoidable to ask, What was he delivered from? The royalists in the sequel were completely subdued, and the king ended his life on the scaffold.—Without however being able completely to explain the author's meaning, we may safely pronounce his phrase to import the highest testimony of the talents of Hampden, and of the profound estimation in which they were held by his own party.

was still going on, a thing he had never done before, with his head hanging down, and his hands resting on the neck of his horse, from which circumstances the relater confidently inferred that he was wounded ⁿ:

CHAP.
IV.
1643.

It is of much importance to the history of these times to be acquainted with every particular which can be ascertained of the character of this memorable man. The most invaluable hints are to be derived from the contemporary historian, who had so many opportunities of knowing him. Clarendon describes him as what he calls "one of the root-and-branch men ^o," and classes him in that respect with Fiennes and sir Henry Vane; adding at the same time, "Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis." This has been usually interpreted to mean an entire hostility to the episcopal order; but it may extend something further. The peculiar animosity of the historian to Hampden is no equivocal indication. He says, "without question, when he first drew the sword, he threw away the scabbard ^p," and probably the dissimulation he is so eager to impute to this distinguished patriot has no other meaning. Lord Falkland, he affirms, was led on in all the early

ⁿ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 264.

^o Vol. I, p. 233, 234. Clarendon again uses in part the same expression, when he describes Hampden as one of those "who desired still to strike at the root." Vol. II, p. 238.

^p Vol. II, p. 266.

CHAP.
IV.

1649.

proceedings of the Long Parliament by "the great opinion he entertained of the uprightness and integrity of Hampden⁹," and such at the time we may presume to have been the judgment of Clarendon. It was only when the great leader conceived certain things to be necessary to the welfare of his country in which these men were not prepared to co-operate with him, that the historian changed his stile of speaking respecting him. Meanwhile it may be accounted fortunate, that Hampden's great plans did not die with him. He left behind him successors, no one of them equal to himself, but who had sat under his instructions, who had studied in his school, and who were in this respect worthy of our admiration, that they were not mere pupils and copiers after so consummate a master, but had each of them a vein of excellence, and a well of talent, that was peculiarly his own.

Charles declares the two houses not a free parliament.

It is worthy of notice, that in two days after the skirmish in which Hampden received his mortal wound, the king issued a proclamation, declaring that the present assembly at Westminster was not a free parliament, and that whatever came from them in the name of the two houses he would no longer receive in that character^r. This was certainly an act of the most untemperising and decisive nature. As long as this declaration was adhered to, there could be no issue to the war

⁹ Vol II, p 353.

^r Lords' Journals, June 26.

but in the absolute conquest and putting down of one party or the other".

CHAP.
IV.

One of the grounds alleged for a proceeding of so absolute a nature, was the impeachment of high treason against the queen which had been voted in the preceding month^t. Hollis states this impeachment as one of the first steps by which the independent party manifested the superiority they had gained over the presbyterian^u. And yet the impeachment was carried up to the house of lords by the hands of Pym.

1643.
Impeachment of the
queen.

In pursuance of the plan already described, the parliamentary council seem now to have particularly turned their attention to the fitting out sir William Waller, with a small, but well-appointed army, for the west of England, where the royalists had recently gained some important advantages. But the success of this plan was by no means correspondent to the expectations that had been formed. Though in the celerity of his movements Waller displayed an extraordinary merit, he seems to have erred in too great confidence in himself, and too great contempt of the enemy. He fought a drawn battle near Bath on the fifth of July, and had a second engagement near Devizes one week later, in which, through the for-

Waller sent
into the
west.

July 5.

July 13.

* It is somewhat curious that Clarendon, who is commonly very copious in inserting important state-papers at length, notices this out of its place, and only in a very imperfect and cursory way. Vol. II, p. 301. ^t Journals, May 23. ^u Memoirs, p. 7.

CHAP.
IV.

1643.
an unsuc-
cessful.

tune of war, the gallantry of the enemy, and the diligence of the king in sending timely reinforcements, his whole army was dispersed^w. Indeed one of the most striking defects of this officer was, that, owing probably to his utter want of discipline, the army which he led out from the metropolis in the most admirable condition, he was in a few weeks under the necessity of coming back to recruit, and his soldiers after a month's service thought only of hastening to revisit their native home.

Surrender
of Bristol.
July 26.

An event followed close upon this, which greatly increased the alarm and terror of the parliamentary party. This was no other than the surrender of Bristol on the twenty-sixth of July to prince Rupert. The place was well provided, and capable of considerable resistance; but it was lost through the infirmity of spirit of its governor. Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say, and who, as well as his father, was a member of the committee of safety, was one of the most highly gifted of the party which at present predominated in the parliament; and he was looked up to by all that were engaged with him, as possessing in an eminent degree subtlety of mind and vast treasures of intellect. He was among the ablest of their counsellors. But, not contented with the consideration he obtained on this account, he aspired

^w Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 284, 285. Whitlocke, p. 70. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 282, 290.

to the reputation of a soldier. The impetuous Rupert assaulted the city on three sides, but with no extraordinary success: the attack was gallant; the defence was no less resolute: unhappily the governor, confounded and dismayed with all that was passing around him, before the close of the day, demanded a parley, and agreed to evacuate the place *.

CHAP.
IV.

1643.

All this would have been comparatively of little importance, but for the condition of Essex's army. It had suffered considerably from sickness during the siege of Reading. The siege however had been short; and, if proper measures had been adopted, the mischief would have been transient. Meanwhile their general retained them in perpetual inactivity; and it could not be, but that under such circumstances their spirit should decline. The only actions which occurred, were when the king's forces beat up their quarters, choosing their own time and manner for the attack, which was therefore generally successful. It is probable too, that, as the most effective members of the committee of safety did not feel cordially towards Essex, those expedients which might best have recruited his army, and repaired its losses, were not on their part sufficiently attended to. In a word, the gradually increasing alienation of the general to the cause in which he was engaged, and

Condition
of Essex's
army.

* Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 284. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 293, et seqq.

CHAP. perhaps the perception of that alienation on the
IV. part of his employers, had reduced the principal
1643. army of the parliament to a condition, in which
they were incapable of rendering any substantial
service, or of opposing an effectual check to the
successes of the enemy ^y.

^y Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 267, 292.

CHAPTER V

PARLIAMENT PREPARES FOR THE DEFENCE OF LONDON.—DECLARATION OF THE KING.—FLUCTUATIONS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—MOMENTARY IRRESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMONS.—SUCCEEDED BY FIRMNESS.—KING MARCHES AGAINST GLOUCESTER.—THE CAUSE IS SAVED.

BUT, as has been several times observed, they were men of no narrow talents, who at this time guided the counsels of the parliament. They had just lost by death the individual who had been always looked up to as the soul of their undertakings. This calamity had been rapidly succeeded by an unheard-of train of disasters. Yet they lost none of their presence of mind, and none of those resources which depend on that endowment.

There was one expedient which lay obviously before them. The contention in which they were engaged was in a considerable degree similar to that in which the Scottish nation had been involved a short time before, and in which that northern people had wrested from the unwilling

CHAP.
V.
1643.

Embassy
from the
English
parliament
to the par-
liament of
Scotland.

CHAP.
V.

1643.

hands of the monarch, all the points for which the struggle had been made. Scotland could not look with indifference upon what was going on in the southern part of the island. In the pretensions of the presbyterians here they could not but deeply sympathise; nor could they be without apprehension for the consequences to all which they had themselves so lately and with difficulty acquired, if Charles should be able to lay the English nation prostrate at his feet. The Scots had accordingly from the beginning shewed a strong leaning to the side of parliament. But the leaders in the southern part of the island proceeded with deliberation and wariness. They had on all occasions manifested a desire to keep well with the Scots, and to secure the good wishes of the predominant party in the northern kingdom. But they went no further. They reserved the Scottish power as a resource in case of necessity, and seem to have been anxious, if possible, to secure the victory at home without the actual interference of the neighbour nation. The ambiguous proceedings of false brethren among themselves, of men who, while they embarked in the cause of liberty, still cast a longing and a wistful eye to the party of their opponents, together with an accumulation of several most unexpected misfortunes, at length obliged them to lay aside the pride and the delicacy with which they had hitherto acted. All these circumstances ren-

dered an embassy to Scotland particularly advisable ; the Scottish nation was at this time eminently warlike, and might easily be brought into action ; and, if their forces were marched to cooperate with the armies of the English parliament, it was obvious that this would greatly contribute to change the face of the war.

The idea of such an embassy was brought forward in the life-time of Hampden ^a ; and on the twentieth of July the commissioners set out from London ^b. They were four ; and the man principally confided in among them was Vane. ^{Vane.} He indeed was the individual best qualified to succeed Hampden as a counsellor, in the arduous struggle in which the nation was at this time engaged. In subtlety of intellect, and dexterity of negotiation he was inferior to none, and the known disinterestedness of his character, and his superiority to the vulgar temptations of gain, gave him the greatest authority. When he obtained under the new government the appointment of treasurer of the navy, he found that the fees of his office amounted to little less than thirty thousand pounds *per annum* ; but he liberally surrendered his patent, which he had for life from Charles the First, to

^a Journals of Commons, May 1, 30, June 17. Hampden is stated to have been originally one of the commissioners, Journals, July 17. This however seems to be in contradiction with Journals, June 17.

^b Journals, July 19.

CHAP. the parliament, stipulating only for a salary of
 V. two thousand pounds to the deputy who executed
 1643. the ordinary routine of the business ^c. He was no less superior to the allurements of ambition; and it may perhaps be ascribed to the entire absence of such views, that another person ^d in the sequel, fitted better for the rude intercourse, and the sordid dispositions of the mass of mankind, got the start of him in the political race.

St. John. On the same day on which Vane set out for Scotland, St. John was named to be added as a member to the committee of government, commonly called the committee for the safety of the kingdom ^e. This body had at first had its numbers irregularly increased by vote of either house of parliament ^f; but, inconveniences having been found to arise from that circumstance, it was settled by agreement of both houses in the beginning of the present year, that the committee should be again reduced to the precise individuals who were first named upon it ^g. It is made, somewhat ludicrously, a matter of charge by the king, in his ill-judged proclamation of the twentieth of June, that “resolutions and directions which concerned the property and liberty of the subject, were

^c Collins, Peerage, art. Earl of Darlington.

^d Cromwel.

^e Journals.

^f Journals of Commons, July 8, 16, 19, Sep. 8, 12, 13. Lords, Sep. 8, Oct. 19. Year 1642.

^g Journals, Feb. 23, 24.

transacted and concluded by a few persons, under the name of a close committee, without reporting the same to, or having them confirmed by, the two houses^b:" in other words, that the parliament had originated a body of men, so qualified and privileged as to be able to discharge the functions of an executive government. The addition of St. John to this committee, on the very day that Vane set out for Scotland, naturally suggests the idea, that he was selected as a person upon whom Vane could peculiarly depend.

Oliver St. John was by no means an inconsiderable individual among that constellation of talents, which at this time presided over the proceedings of the parliament. He has already been mentioned as the leading counsel who pleaded the cause of Hampden in the great question of ship-money. At the time when the idea had been entertained of Charles's forming a popular administration in the beginning of the year 1641, though the design failed, there remained of it the single fragment, that St. John was appointed to the office of solicitor-general. The appointment of course neither made, nor was intended to make, any alteration in his political conduct. He still went on in concert with Hampden, Pym, and the rest, under whose standard he had marshalled himself from the first. A short time after the pe-

^b Journals of Lords, June 26.

CHAP.

V.

1643.

riod at which we are now arrived, the king revoked the patent of solicitor which had been granted to St. John, and conferred the office upon sir Thomas Gardiner, formerly recorder of London, but who was now under a parliamentary impeachment¹. The authenticity of this appointment however was not admitted by the parliament; and St. John continued to bear his former style for several years. This has sometimes been made matter of accusation against him, that he retained his office, while he acted in opposition to the court: but it is difficult to say with what propriety. One of the questions at issue between the king and the parliament was, who should have the nomination to such offices as were necessary to the public service. A bill had early been brought into parliament, to prevent peers hereafter to be made from sitting in the house of lords^k; and the power of the king to displace public officers, and appoint others in their room, was resisted by his opponents. It would therefore have been a useless sacrifice to personal delicacy in St. John, to have set himself against the sense of the party with whom he acted, and to have relinquished his office.

¹ Glyn, one of the original members of the committee of safety, was chosen recorder of London in the room of sir Thomas Gardiner in the present year.

^k Journals of Commons, May 14, 1642. The bill was sent down from the lords.

CHAP.
V.1643.
Warlike
preparations
of the par-
liament.

The steps which were taking to call in the Scots, by no means relaxed the attention of the committee of parliament that had the direction of affairs, to the measures which were necessary for the defence of the seat of government, and for maintaining a firm resistance against the victorious enemy. On the twenty-second of July, the earls of Pembroke and Bolingbroke, the earl of Manchester, late lord Kimbolton, but who had succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father, and lord Howard of Escricke, were appointed to command the recruits of horse that should be raised, each in four counties respectively¹. It was also resolved to replace Essex's army in the most vigorous condition.

Another measure which was adopted at this time, forcibly reminds us of the annals of ancient Rome. The defeat of sir William Waller near Devizes had been the immediate occasion of the awful situation in which the parliament stood; and that general on his return to London was met by a procession of the train-bands and militia, and received, as Clarendon says, "as if he had brought the king prisoner with him^m." On the

Waller appointed to conduct the defence of London. •

¹ Journals. The last of these was the man who by his evidence in 1683 took away the lives of lord Russel and Algernon Sidney. Hereafter I shall call him lord Howard simply.

^m Vol. II, p. 322. It was thus the Roman senate thanked the general who lost the battle of Cannæ, that he "had not despaired of the commonwealth."

CHAP.

V.

1643.

twenty-seventh of July, he was introduc'd into the house of commons, and the speaker by order of the house returned him thanks for his "great and good services, and his continually approving his good affections to religion and the commonwealth^a." It was at the same time voted, that he should be recommended to the lord general, as a fit person to command in chief the forces which were immediately to be raised for the defence of the capital.

This was certainly a choice not in the highest degree eligible. But it is the misfortune of those who are concerned in conducting human affairs, that, however pure and capacious their own conceptions may be, they must accommodate themselves to the circumstances with which they are environed, and use the instruments that are within their reach. "I have not given the best laws to my countrymen," said Solon to one who questioned him, "but the best the Athenians were able to bear." When the constancy of both houses of parliament was so fearfully shaken, that was not a time for the members of the committee of safety to venture on fearful innovations. They were reduced to draw the utmost profit they were able from the infidelity of Essex, and the imbecility of sir William Waller.

"London," says May in his History of the Par-

^a Journals.

liament^o, “ was at this time unfortified ; nor could she, if the enemy, then master of the field, had come upon her, have opposed any walls, but such as those old Sparta used, the hearts of her courageous citizens. But now was begun the large intrenchment, which encompassed not only the city, but the suburbs on every side, containing about twelve miles in circuit. That great work was by many hands completed in a short time ; it being then the practice for thousands to go out every day to dig, all professions, trades, and occupations taking their turns ; not the inferior tradesmen only, but gentlemen of the best quality, knights, and ladies, for the encouragement of others, resorted to the works daily, not as spectators, but assisters, carrying themselves spades, mattocks, and other suitable implements : so that it became a pleasant spectacle at London, to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums^o beating before them ; which put life into the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen, that in so low a condition they yet seemed not to despair.”

There is a very extraordinary letter of the earl of Essex inserted in the Journals of the House of Lords, of the date of the ninth of July ^p, in which he says that his “ army being neither recruited with horses, nor saddles, nor arms, he could not move

CHAP.
V.

1643.
Fortifications of the
metropolis.

Letter of
Essex to the
house of
lords.

^o Book III, p. 91.

^p Journals, July 11.

CHAP.

V.

1643.

but with his whole force, which must be by slow marches, and with infinite injury to the peaceable inhabitants." He therefore desires that, "if it were thought fit, they would send to his majesty to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws, and the liberties of the subject, and bringing to just trial those chief delinquents who have caused all this mischief to the kingdom; and that, if this do not produce a treaty, his majesty may be desired to absent himself from the scene of contention, and both armies may be drawn up near the one to the other, that, if peace be not concluded, it might be ended by the sword." The same day that this letter was received, it was resolved in the house of lords, "after a serious debate, that the parliament shall not offer to the king propositions or a petition, till he shall have recalled the proclamation wherein he declares this parliament to be no free parliament^q." A few days previous to that proclamation the house of lords had actually voted, "that something be considered of, to be sent to the lord general, and by him presented to the king, for effecting a happy peace and reconcilment between the king and the parliament^r;" which vote the appearance of this proclamation necessarily rendered abortive.

^q Ibid.^r Journals of Lords, June 17.

Events however in rapid succession were daily increasing the party in the house of lords that was favourable to such overtures as Essex recommended. It has been already mentioned that on the twenty-second of July, four peers were appointed to command the recruits of horse that should be raised, each in four counties respectively: but of the peers that were nominated the earl of Manchester only accepted the commission^a. And on the second of August the house of lords revived their vote of several weeks before, that "a committee might be appointed to consider of some propositions fit to be presented to the king for settling the present distractions^t." The committee accordingly prepared a petition to that effect, which on the fifth was sent down to the house of commons for their concurrence. The same evening an uncommonly long and earnest debate took place in the commons on the subject; and, it being put to the vote whether the propositions from the lords should be taken into further consideration, it was carried in the affirmative, 94 to 65. The pacific party even ventured upon a division whether that further consideration should not be pursued without adjournment or delay, and it was carried against them only by a majority of two^u.

CHAP.
V.1643.
Lords vote
a petition to
the king.Petition de-
bated in the
commons.^a Journals of Lords, same date.^t Journals.^u Journals of Commons, Aug. 5. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 319.

CHAP.

V.

1648.
Perilous situation of
the public
cause.

It is impossible to conceive a more awful crisis than this, relative to all the points for which the Long Parliament had lately, and a majority of the people of England had for a considerable time, been contending. The king would certainly not be induced by a representation under these circumstances, to revoke his proclamation of the twentieth of June. He had shewn himself the most obstinate man alive; and it is not likely that he would suddenly have become flexible now. Such a petition from the two houses of parliament at the present moment would have been a signal for the last degree of confusion and distraction; and it would only be necessary on the part of Charles to elude their importunity, to have all opposition prostrate at his feet.

King's declaration on
the surrender of Bristol.

Clarendon boasts of a Declaration published by the king, the day after he received assurance of the taking of Bristol, which he says, "was read by all men, and was magnified as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his clemency and justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good successes, and power almost to have what he would, that he renewed all those promises and protestations for the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and the privileges of parliament^w," that he had issued in the period of his greatest adversity. But it is only neces-

^w Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 317.

sary to read the declaration, to perceive the fallaciousness of this comment.

CHAP.
V.

1643

In the course of it he speaks of himself as the most faultless of men, and his cause as the most just of causes, and qualifies his adversaries as “those who have neither reverence to God, nor affection to men ^x.” He calls upon his good subjects to “abhor the men whose malice and subtlety have engendered those miserable, bloody distempers, which have disquieted this poor kingdom ^y.” Through the whole paper there is not one word of amnesty or oblivion. He says indeed that “whosoever have been misled by those whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their past crimes by their present services and loyalty, in the apprehending or opposing such as shall continue to bear arms against us, shall have cause to magnify our mercy, and to repent the trespasses they have committed against so just and so gracious a sovereign ^z.” And what tyrant ever failed to say as much?

He renews all his former protestations, that he is “far from the least thought of invading the liberty and property of the subject, or violating the just privileges of parliament, which he acknowledges to be an essential part of the good

^x Ibid. p. 303.

^y Ibid. p. 302, 303.

^z Ibid. p. 305.

CHAP.
V.
1643.

laws of the realm.^a” And what is there in this? With the sitting parliament he had refused all further communication. What he requires is unconditional submission, and that the people of England shall yield themselves to his sovereignty. He is contented to co-operate with a parliament: and what a parliament? Yes: when he has driven all the illustrious champions of freedom into exile, or shut them up in dungeons, when he has restored all those renegades, who preferred the smiles of a court, and the cause of *him* who fifteen years before had laid aside the use of parliaments, he may safely trust himself with such a parliament. He would have used it as an engine to throw down all the defences which had lately been set up for the subject, and to surrender a despotic power into his hands for ever.

Such is the sum of this gracious declaration.

Methinks I see him in his triumphal entrance into London, surrounded by all his minions and myrmidons: “his horse’s hoofs wet with his country’s blood.” We may judge from the peaceful entrance of the son, hereafter to be recorded, what would have been the triumphal entrance of the father. Charles the Second entered in the twelfth year (so called) of his reign, and when the wounds of the civil war had long been healed

^a Ibid. p. 303, 304. This Declaration is only to be found in Clarendon. The king’s manifestoes are usually found in the Journals of the Lords. But that house was now in a state of too great agitation, to attend to this punctilio.

and forgotten. He had passed through an ordeal of adversity and privations in a private station, which might well have purged him of the passions which are almost infallibly generated by the possession of power. His resentments were politic resentments merely; like the wrath of a judge—to prevent the recurrence of similar offences. He had received no personal injury, and was hailed with the applauses and servile adulation of nearly a united people. But Charles the First had felt, and remembered. All was recent; and he still smarted with his calamities. His followers and himself compared the affronts put upon him, to the insults offered by the Jews to our Saviour; and he would have been certain not to have left the balance imperfectly settled.

Dryden, impelled by the *poetis quidlibet audendi potestas*, says of one of the sons of Charles the First,

For sure he comes of a forgiving kind ^b:

and this very son justified the encomium, by admitting his brother's child, the duke of Monmouth, his prisoner, into his presence, and then sending him immediately to the scaffold.

I find two passions principally concerned in instigating the conduct of Charles the First:—first, an over-weening egotism and pride; and secondly, religious bigotry ^c: egotism and pride,

^b Absalom and Achitophel, ver. 292.

^c Charles's bigotry, if we may judge from his letter to pope Gregory XV, and other indications, was more negative than affir-

CHAP.
V.

1643.

inspiring a total indifference to the sufferings of others ; and bigotry, too often representing those sufferings in fascinating colours, as conducive to the glory of God. Add to which, the passion of egotism and pride never fails to engender a deep and bitter spirit of retaliation of those injuries, by which this sentiment is irritated and awakened.

The picture here given is correct and just, or it is otherwise. If the former, it could not have been omitted here ; as without it the crisis to which the fortunes of England were now exposed could not be completely understood.

Proceed-
ings in Lon-
don.

It was in these circumstances that the vote of the lords was brought down to the house of commons for their concurrence, for “the appointment of a committee to consider of some propositions fit to be presented to the king for settling the present distractions.” There was even a strong party in the lower house in favour of this measure. It was only decided by a majority of two, that the overture should not be put to the vote without delay ; and it was carried by a majority of twenty-nine, that it should be taken into further consideration. This happened on a Saturday.

Aug. 5.

The intermediate day, on which the parliament did not sit, was improved for the advancement of

mative. He approved of any church-establishment that was favourable to his own prerogative ; but he hated the puritans.

the public cause. The war was in part a war of religion, the abuses which archbishop Laud had introduced, and the earnest desire to establish a more simple and operative form of church-government, having made a deep impression in the general mind; and the clergy in their pulpits thought themselves authorised on this occasion, to set before their hearers the calamity and mischief which were instantly impending^d. Pennington, the lord mayor, also held a court of common council, in which a petition to the house of commons was prepared, deprecating the measure which the other house had espoused.

C H A P.
V.
1643.

On Monday the petition was brought up by the lord mayor attended by a great concourse of the citizens; and these, as was but natural on so momentous an occasion, expressed by their voices and gestures how deeply they were interested in the success of their demand^e. The lords immediately came to a vote, declaring that the coming down of the people in this manner was a breach of the privileges of parliament. They desired a conference with the house of commons, to demand their concurrence in suppressing these tumults, declaring at the same time that they had adjourned their house till the next morning, and that, if the tumults were not at an end by that time,

^d Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 320.

^e Ibid. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 356.

CHAP. they would adjourn to a further period^f. The
 V. house of commons made an order, that it be re-
 1643. commended to the lord mayor to take some course
 to prevent disturbance; and the lord mayor set
 forth a proclamation, and took precautions ac-
 cordingly^g. But in the mean time it was voted in
 the commons by a majority, 88 to 81, to reject
 the motion for sending propositions to the king.
 To this they added another resolution, that the
 lords be requested not to desert the defence of
 the kingdom^h.

Commons
 vote for
 measures of
 defence.

In unison with these proceedings on the part of those who supported the public cause, and commensurate with the urgency of the case, were the preparations made for the protection of the metropolis. A commission was voted to sir William Waller to raise ten regiments of horse, and ten of foot, for that purposeⁱ; and the earl of Manchester, as commander of the six associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford, was authorised to raise in them a body of ten thousand men^k. This nobleman, together with viscount Say, have the honour to be the only members of the house of lords, whose names are specified in the king's proclamation of the twentieth of June, as being among the persons who composed the committee of safety.—It

^f Journals, Aug. 7.

^g Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 357.

^h Journals, Aug. 7.

ⁱ Journals, Aug. 8.

^k Ibid. Aug. 9.

deserves to be stated, that, two days after the rejection of the petition for peace, Mr. Hollis obtained permission to pass beyond seas, with his lady, his children, his servants, and his household stuff, though this permission was revoked on the day following¹.

CHAP.
V.
1643.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the king and his military council entered upon the important deliberation, what was to be their conduct at this momentous period. It was proposed by some, that they should march immediately for London, where every thing was said to be in confusion, where the earl of Essex's army hovered, baffled, weakened and dismayed, and where it was hoped, that, either by an insurrection of the citizens who adhered to the royal party, as such there will always be, in a case of civil dissention, by treaty, or by victory, an immediate end might be put to the contest^m.

It is proposed that the king should march to London.

But the admirable conduct of the parliamentary leaders awed the victorious royalists. Their eyes were every where; their vigilance equally employed in every direction. Bands and regiments of armed men seemed to spring up, as if out of the earth. The fervour and determination of the adherents of the parliament was so intense, as to assume in a great degree the features of gaiety

The proposal is negatived.

¹ Ibid. Aug. 9, 10. ^m Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 313. Warwick, p. 261.

CHAP.

V.

1643.

and hilarity. The sentiments of the adverse party, arising from an implicit veneration for monarchical institutions, or bent to take a prey, could not enter into rivalry with the emotions of men, and in some measure of women, engrossed in the cause of their religion, and fighting for every thing that elevates the human heart, and makes life worth the possessing. They shrank abashed from the comparison. Such is the law of our nature; and it decided upon the proceeding to be adopted. The king marched away, and sat down before the walls of Gloucesterⁿ.

But one of the most masterly strokes which was made at this period, was the soothing the perturbed spirits and conciliating the good will of the earl of Essex. He had certainly deserved ill of those who had intrusted him with the conduct of their interests. He had himself been neglected in his turn. The consequence of this was, that he began to entertain, what under a regular government would be called, treasonable designs against his employers. The earl of Northumberland, the first nobleman in the kingdom, the earl of Bedford, the second officer in the army, being general of the horse under the earl of Essex^o, with the earls of Holland and Clare, had for some time entered into cabals the most deadly to the party

Defection
among the
peers from
the cause of
the parlia-
ment.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Clarendon says he had resigned this appointment. Vol. II, p. 331.

in which they appeared to be engaged ; and Essex, commander in chief for the parliament, served them admirably as a centre from which their machinations should take a beginning, and round which they should move^p. Northumberland, Essex and Holland were three of the original members of the committee of safety. But they were grown weary of the war. They had been, most of them, discountenanced at court, or they had seen no hopes of mounting in that sphere to the scope of their ambition. Their ambition or their vanity had led them therefore to throw themselves into the opposite party. At length they saw their mistake. They saw things going further than they intended. They saw a spirit rising in the nation, which their habits did not enable them to comprehend, and which they felt themselves incompetent to control. It became evident that talents and the real worth of a man in such a scene of things would raise him to his due consideration and influence, and that high birth and a copious rent-roll would avail but little in the comparison. These prospects it was not agreeable to them to contemplate ; and things having unexpectedly taken a seemingly decisive turn in favour of the king, they were eager to close with the royalists before it was too late, and while it

^p Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 323.

CHAP.

V.

1643.

'was possible for them to make themselves a merit by actively putting the last hand to the triumph of Charles.

Such were the considerations that produced the vote of Saturday, August the fifth, that propositions should be immediately tendered to the king. They hoped to force the house of commons to agree with them; and they had almost carried their point, at least as far as an immediate division of numbers could decide.

Cabals of
the earl of
Essex.

But the boldness of their project exceeded these limits. They knew that it was possible they should miscarry in the first instance. When Pennington and the citizens presented their petition on the Monday, the lords immediately voted that the coming down of the people was a breach of the privileges of parliament. Under colour of the tumults, they adjourned their house to the next day, and signified to the commons, that in case tranquillity was not fully restored, they should determine on a further adjournment. "The design was for as many members of both houses as were of one mind to have gone to the earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, and to have declared their want of freedom; by means of which they made no doubt to have drawn both houses to consent to an agreement, or to have entered upon such a treaty them-

selves with the king^a," as should have answered their purpose. A plot more decisively striking at the root of all that had hitherto been done, could not have been devised.

CHAP.
V.
1643.

Such was the danger for which the politics of the parliamentary leaders were called upon to administer a remedy. Clarendon observes, that the first thing now attended to was the formation and equipment of the armies of the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller, "that Essex might see, they had another earl to trust to, and more generals at their devotion^r." A variety of votes were then adopted for the purpose of renovating and recruiting the forces under the commander in chief. They determined, that the most effectual means should be adopted for paying and clothing these forces, and that a declaration should be forthwith prepared, vindicating Essex from all reflections and imputations that might have been cast upon him. They resolved, that "his army should be recruited, in the first place, by all possible means^s;" and for this purpose they framed an ordinance directing the proper officers to impress all soldiers, gunners, and others, as they should think fit^t. And finally, on the third of August, they appointed a committee, consisting of St. John, Strode, and Crewe, to whom was

Proceed-
ings in the
house of
commons.

^a Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 323.

^r Ibid. p. 322.

^s Journals of Commons, July 31, Aug. 1.

^t Ibid. July 31, Aug. 1, 4.

CHAP.
V.

1643.
Com-
mis-
sioners sent
to pacify
Essex.

afterwards, upon a division, added Pym, which was directed "to repair without delay to the lord-general, to acquaint him with the votes of the house upon his propositions, to satisfy him as to any scruples and doubts he might entertain, and to assure his excellency and his army of all imaginable encouragement".¹

The earl of Essex then lay with his forces at Kingston, ten miles from London, so that the communication was attended with no difficulty ^x. The commissioners expatiated upon the high respect the house of commons had never ceased to entertain for him, and the deep sense they had of his services, as well as of the hazards, danger and losses to which he had been exposed in his present employment ^y. They warned him how doubtful it was in what manner the king would regard any thing that he could now do in atonement for the decisive part he had taken on their side in the commencement of the war ^z. They observed that even in the gracious and benign proclamation, such it was called, of the twentieth of June, his name had been particularly inserted, together with those of the earls of Manchester, Warwick and Stamford, the lord Say, and twelve commoners, as persons, "who were the principal authors of the present calamities, who had sacri-

¹ Journals.² Ibid. p. 322.^x Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 317.^z Ibid. p. 323.

ficed the peace and prosperity of their country to their pride, malice and ambition, and against whom the king was determined to proceed as against persons guilty of high treason." They probably reminded the earl, how ambiguous in all events would be the character of the man who cast off his original engagements, to go over to the adversary, and how glorious it would be to stand or fall with the party, who had so solemnly and repeatedly vowed to live and die with him.

Whatever was the cause of the change, certain it is that Essex now became sensibly weaned from his inclination to desert and betray his employers^a. This alteration entirely baffled the project which had been formed by the discontented members of both houses of parliament of throwing themselves upon the protection of Essex's army. They scarcely dared trust their new associate, and were even afraid that he might discover to the stronger party the intrigues which had been carrying on^b. The earls of Bedford, Holland and Clare therefore, a miserable remnant of the conspirators, stole off unperceived to the king's quarters; and the earl of Northumberland retired with leave to his house at Petworth in Sussex, there to remain till he should see whe-

Earls of Bedford, Holland and Clare desert the parliament.

^a Ibid. Clarendon imputes the change in Essex to "infusions poured into him by lord Say and Mr. Pym." This was one of the last of Pym's public services.

^b Ibid.

- CHAP. ther he could make a secure peace with the par-
V. liamentary party, in which if he failed he deter-
1643. mined to follow the others to the general rendez-
vous at Oxford ^c.

^c Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 324. Lords' Journals, Aug. 1: He was however present when the propositions of peace were voted on the day following.

CHAPTER VI.

SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER.—RAISED BY ESSEX.—
 BATTLE OF NEWBURY.—BATTLE OF HORN-
 CASTLE.—THE ARMIES GO INTO WINTER-
 QUARTERS.

THE king's march against Gloucester was the first decisive evidence that was afforded of the change in public affairs. It may not be unreasonable to relieve the momentous character of the present narrative with Clarendon's account of what passed, as soon as the king had "ranged his whole army on a fair hill, on the tenth of August, in the clear view of the city ^a."

CHAP.
VI.

1643.
Gloucester
besieged.
August 10.

The king sent in a summons proffering a free pardon without exception, in case of submission, and requiring an answer within two hours.

"Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, indeed so strange and unusual, and in such garb and carriage, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most chearful hearts

^a Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 315.

CHAP.
VI.

1643.

sad. The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king, which was as follows. ‘We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity, and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament, and are resolved, by God’s help, to keep this city accordingly ^b.’”

The king, we are told, received this answer without any signs of choler or indignation, only wondering at their great confidence, and from what hope of relief it should proceed, and using these words before the messengers, “Waller is extinct; and Essex cannot come ^c.”

Massey.

Gloucester was defended by colonel Edward Massey, an officer of distinguished merit, and

^b An objection has frequently been urged of the base hypocrisy of the parliament in taking up arms in the name of the king, to fight against his person. But this objection has small foundation. The style of the English government (a free government certainly) had for centuries been to transact all business in the name of the king. To have done otherwise upon this occasion, would have been in a manner equivalent to the declaring themselves a republic.

^c May, Book III, p. 96.

who, like Waller, had learned the rudiments of his profession in foreign service. Clarendon tells a strange story of him, that, being sounded by a private friend, a royalist, as to how his inclination stood towards his employers, he returned in writing a severe answer, but accompanied it with a verbal message, importing that, if prince Rupert came before the town, he would not fail to defend it to the utmost, whereas, if the king came with his army, he would make no resistance^d. None of the actions of colonel Massey partook in the least of this wavering and treachery; and it is probable that, though Clarendon might believe it, the story is not true. If it were, it would imply a consummate hypocrisy in Massey, to draw the king from the capital in so perilous a crisis, and no less folly in Charles and his advisers, to be led away by so senseless a tale.

CHAP.
VI.
1643.

The defence of the city was conducted with great courage and resolution; the governor performing all the parts of a vigilant commander; and the garrison making many sharp and bold sallies with signal effect. The discipline was excellent; insomuch that, after the disastrous surrender of Bristol, and in the midst of every imaginable discouragement, not one officer, nor above three common soldiers deserted the town through the whole duration of the siege^e. Mas-

Its defence.

^d Vol. II, p 314.

^e p. 311.

CHAP.

VI.

1643.

Expulsion
of Henry
• Marten.

sey was punctual in his communications to his employers, informing them of all the disadvantages under which he laboured, and fixing a period beyond which it would be impossible for him to hold out^f.

An incident, every way worthy of notice, occurred at this time. Henry Marten, whose father, sir Henry Marten, had been judge of the court of admiralty, was an eminent leader in the parliamentary party, and had been one of the original members of the committee of safety. This man was as much distinguished for an active disposition and an undaunted temper, as for his wit and good humour. By these latter qualities he gained himself friends wherever he appeared, as by the former he seemed to be an important acquisition to the party with which he embarked. He was a free liver and a liberal speaker in the midst of these times of solemnity and precision; and however strict was the restraint put on other men, every thing appeared to be forgiven to Henry Marten. But the period of which we are now treating was more than usually perilous; and Marten, who did not always accommodate himself to times and places, ventured in this instance too far. A debate now occurred respecting an alleged libel. Marten defended the writer, and in the course of his speech said, that it was cer-

^f Ibid. p. 343.

tainly better, in the case of a nation and its government, that one family should be destroyed than many. A member of the house interrupted him, and insisted that he should explain what family he meant: to which Marten bluntly rejoined, The king and his children. For these words he was expelled the house and sent to the Tower; and, though he was soon relieved from confinement^g, he was not restored to his seat till after an interval of two years and four months. His expulsion took place on the sixteenth of August.

It is proper in this place to give his character as drawn by Aubrey. "He was a great and faithful lover of his country, and never got a farthing by the parliament. His speeches in the house were not long, but wondrous poignant, pertinent and witty. He was of an incomparable wit for repartees; not at all covetous; humble, not at all arrogant, as most of them were; a great observer of justice, and did always in the house take the part of the oppressed^h."

Parliament was at this time indefatigable in the business of recruiting and revivifying the army of Essex. The commander and the leading statesmen were upon terms of the utmost harmony and confidence; and he had only to signify what he desired to be sure of promptly obtaining it. Three times in the beginning of August was a

March of
Essex.

^g Journals of Commons, Sep. 2.

^h Aubrey, Letters and Lives, Vol. II, p. 435, 436.

CHAP. VI. committee of the house of commons sent to his
 1643. army, that they might observe upon actual inspection what was wanted, and the operation and effect of the orders that had been givenⁱ. Essex himself was repeatedly in London, that he might solicit with all the necessary parties the interests of his army^k. The consequence was fully answerable to the diligence that was employed. The troops which on the thirty-first of July Essex would not endure to have called an army^l, were filled up: the soldiers were paid, and clothed, and full of spirits and courage. On the twenty-second of August a general rendezvous was appointed on Hounslow Heath^m, from whence they removed to Colnebrookeⁿ. Essex's first march was to Aylesbury^o. The royalists would not believe that he was coming. They laid their account in a champaign country of near thirty miles in length that he would have to traverse, which the king's troops had eaten bare, and where, if he attempted the expedition, the royal horse would perpetually infest his march, and finally destroy his army^o. Lord Wilmot was posted at Banbury with a considerable body of cavalry, to retire before Essex, if he advanced, and to throw

ⁱ Journals of Commons, Aug. 3, 15, 16.

^k Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 291.

^l Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 317.

^m Journals of Commons, Aug. 19.

ⁿ May, Book III, p. 102.

^o Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 343.

every impediment in his way^p. Prince Rupert hovered on the hills near Gloucester with the rest of the horse, to complete whatever Wilmot might have left unfinished^q. The parliamentary general however, with a force of eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, steadily pursued his march: he did not suffer himself to be interrupted by the slight skirmishes which were incessantly attempted: the discipline and steadiness of his army was an unfailing resource to him: he reached Gloucester: the royalists raised the siege in confusion on the third of September^r: and the cause was saved.

CHAP.
VI.
1648.
The siege
is raised.

Still his business was but half accomplished. Having relieved and supplied the garrison of Gloucester, he had to make his way back to the metropolis, in the face of the superior cavalry of the king's army. He was desirous of avoiding a battle. He first marched to Tewkesbury, where he lay five days, and made demonstrations as if he had intended to proceed northward to Worcester^s. But, by a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, obtaining the double advantage of passing unmolested through an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town^t. From Ciren-

Essex's
treat.

^p Ibid. p. 344.

^q Ibid. Whitlocke, p. 72.

^r Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 292.

^t Ibid. May, Book III, p. 106.

CHAP.
VI.

1643.

Battle of
Newbury,
September
20.

chester he proposed proceeding by easy stages through an inclosed country to Newbury; but prince Rupert found means to molest him in the passage; and, when he reached Newbury, he discovered to his great surprise that the king with his army had been there two hours before him^t.

An action was now unavoidable, and Essex prepared for it in a soldier-like manner. His horse was several times broken by the king's; but his infantry maintained themselves in firm array. They presented an invincible rampart of pikes against the furious shock of prince Rupert and his followers. The militia of London particularly, though drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, being animated with an unconquerable zeal for the cause in which they were engaged, displayed a firmness which would have done honour to the most hardy veterans. Night parted the combatants; but the advantage was on the whole with the army of the parliament, who gained possession of the town of Newbury, and, the enemy not coming to battle again the next morning, continued their march towards London^u.

At Reading, St. John, with one other commoner, and one member of the house of lords,

^t Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 346.

^u Ibid. p. 347. May, Book III, p. 103, et seqq. Whitlocke, p. 73. In this battle lord Falkland was killed.

were appointed to meet the lord-general, to congratulate him on his success, to acquaint him with the high sense both houses of parliament entertained of his services, to see the state of the army, and to consider what further might be done to improve this opportunity for the advantage of the commonwealth^w. And on the third day following, Essex having arrived in London, both houses of parliament in a body, with their respective speakers at their head, repaired to him at Essex House, the more emphatically to express their approbation and acknowledgments^x.

CHAP.
VI.

1643:

Essex's reception in London.

The history of the campaign in the north was very similar to this. Lord Fairfax, and sir Thomas Fairfax his son, as we have seen, were defeated by Newcastle at Atherton Moor; and the consequence was an almost total dispersion of their army. As many as kept together, were too happy in finding the gates of Hull open to receive them. Newcastle in the mean time, despising this wreck of an enemy, pushed on to the south, and presently captured Gainsborough and Lincoln. His orders were, to make his way with all practicable speed into Essex, and to block up London on that side^y. If he had done so, and the king had at the same time advanced on the south and west of the metropolis, there seemed to be an end

Transactions in the north.

^w Journals, Sep. 23.

^x Ibid. Sep. 26.

^y Fairfax's Memorials, p. 59. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 509.

CHAP. of the war. But the king, as we have seen,
VI. marched off, and sat down before Gloucester.

1643.
Retreat of
Newcastle.

The earl of Newcastle, equally with the army in which the king commanded in person, was led away by other considerations than those of a zeal for the success of the party in which he was engaged. This nobleman was all his life a lover of his pomp and his ease ; he was personally brave ; but he abhorred the fatigues of a warlike occupation, and could not endure to be second to, or to be liable to be controled by the superior authority of, another. Above all, he had contracted a jealousy of prince Rupert, the king's nephew. He believed that, if he once came within the vortex of the principal army, his glories would be eclipsed, and his authority decline into nothing. Influenced by these views, he listened with pleasure to a message from the gentlemen of Yorkshire adhering to the royal party, who intreated him not to desert that part of the kingdom, and earnestly recommended to him, that he should come without delay, and enter upon the siege of Hull. He accordingly commenced the siege on the second of September.

Siege of
Hull.

March of
the earl of
Manchester.

The earl of Manchester, as commander in chief of the forces of the six associated counties, set out for the relief of the north, nearly at the same time that the earl of Essex marched to raise the siege of Gloucester. His first exploit was the

taking of Lynn on the sixteenth of September ^z. He next bent his course for Lincolnshire, which had lately been the scene of Newcastle's successes. Here he expected to be joined by Willoughby and Cromwel, who had gained considerable reputation in that quarter, previously to the inroad of the forces of Newcastle. At this juncture, and while Manchester was yet expected, the two parliamentary officers last mentioned, passed over the Humber, to concert with lord Fairfax the best measures that could be adopted for the common cause ^a: and the horse commanded by sir Thomas Fairfax, being judged to be of no use in Hull while the siege continued, was ordered by the governor across the river the same day, in company with his illustrious visitors on their return.

CHAP.
VI.

1643.

The earl of Manchester from London, and these officers with their troops, speedily formed a junction in the heart of Lincolnshire, and the very next day, October the eleventh, a battle was fought at Horncastle or Bolingbroke, the advantage in which was decidedly with the parliamentarians. The commanders whom Newcastle had left with part of his army for the protection of Lincoln and his other conquests on that side, eager to acquire for themselves military renown, entered rashly into a combat, the event of which disappointed

Battle of
Horncastle.

^z Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 283.

^a Ibid. p. 280.

CHAP.

VI.

1643.

their expectations. Cromwel in particular displayed great courage on this occasion, had his horse killed under him, and was otherwise in much danger ^b. The very same day lord Fairfax conducted a sally from the town of Hull with so much success, that Newcastle found it expedient immediately to raise the siege, and dispose his forces into winter-quarters ^c.

Resent-
ments of
Essex.

Notwithstanding these successes however, there were not wanting sparks of discontent, which it required all the vigilance of the parliamentary statesmen to extinguish. Essex, as we have seen, in the beginning of August, had shewn no unequivocal symptoms of an inclination to betray the service in which he was engaged, and to force the leaders in the cause of liberty to conclude a ruinous peace. These leaders had found it necessary to soothe his discontents, to flatter his self-importance, and to fit him out effectually to encounter the enemy. At the same time they purposed to shew him that their whole dependence was not upon the commander-in-chief; and with this view they organised two armies under Manchester and Waller, to act against the enemy in other directions. Essex had submitted to some limitations upon his authority in silence; but, to shew his sense of the proceeding, he had sent up

^b Ruskworth, Vol. V, p. 282.

^c Ibid. p. 281.

the commission for Waller with a blank for the name, desiring the two houses to complete it at their discretion^d.

CHAP.
VI.
1643.

Being now returned however from his expedition in triumph, having raised the siege of Gloucester, and given a check to the enemy's forces at Newbury, and being accordingly received on his arrival with every mark of distinction the parliament could bestow, he felt himself as placed on a different footing. On the seventh of October^e he desired leave of the two houses, to "deliver up his commission, and to go beyond seas, in regard of the commission to sir William Waller, which was inconsistent with his, and of the many discouragements he had received in his office of general."

In this proceeding Essex took advantage of his masters. They could not with decency, scarcely with safety, dismiss a servant who had recently performed such meritorious services, and whom they had so emphatically complimented at his return. They therefore the same day voted that Waller should on all occasions receive his orders through the lord general, and not immediately from the two houses of parliament. Waller, being present in the commons, declared his readiness to give up the commission objected to, and place himself under Essex's command: and a

They are
conciliated.

^d Journals of Commons, Aug. 26.

^e Journals of Lords.

CHAP.
VI.

1643.

Members of
the two
houses
greatly re-
duced.

committee of both houses was appointed, to “re-
pair to the lord general, and advise with him
what course was fittest to be taken for the settling
this business in a way which should be most con-
ducive to the safety of the kingdom^f.”

But though the parliamentary party had risen
with incredible advantage, and in a short time,
from the disastrous condition in which they had
been placed by the defeat of Waller in Wiltshire,
and by the surrender of Bristol, it was impossible
such a peril should be surmounted without the
intervention of grievous circumstances, calculated
to remind the persons interested how near they
had stood to utter destruction. Each house of par-
liament was at this time memorably thinned of its
numbers. Thirty-five peers had signed a declara-
tion in favour of the king’s party, at York, in
June 1642, previously to the commencement of
hostilities^g. Some of these afterwards returned
to the standard of the parliament:—but it could
not be but that, in the prolongation of the war,
and the vicissitudes of fortune, many members of
both houses should fall off from the cause of li-
berty, some with a vain hope of sheltering their
private interests under a form of neutrality, and
others, deficient in the vigour of a steady oppo-
sition, being influenced by the wish of placing
themselves under the known and long established

^f Journals.^g Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 655, 656.

protection of the name of the king. The disasters of the present July furnished the signal for a still more extensive desertion. On the twenty-second of September, the house of lords, with an appearance of magnanimity, finding their numbers thin, commenced the practice of putting down, at the head of each day's journal, the names of the peers present. On that day the numbers amounted to ten; the earls of Bolingbroke, Lincoln, Stamford and Denbigh, viscount Say, and barons Grey, Wharton, Howard, Hunsden and Dacre. On subsequent days they fluctuated: on the fifth of October reaching to five only: from which time the amount went on, gradually indeed, but slowly increasing. On the same twenty-second of September, the earls of Stamford and Lincoln were added to the committee of safety, to fill the place of those eminent members of that body who had deserted ^h.

^h Journals.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF SCOTLAND.—NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE
 ENGLISH MALCONTENTS AND THE PARLIA-
 MENT.—MOTIVES OF THE KING'S JOURNEY
 THITHER.—HAMPDEN AND FIENNES *SENT TO
 EDINBURGH.—THE INCIDENT.—EMBASSY OF
 VANE TO THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.—
 SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.—ASSEMBLY
 OF DIVINES.—THE COVENANT RATIFIED IN
 ENGLAND.

CHAP.
 VII.

1643.
 Embassy of
 Vane and
 others to
 Scotland.

AT an early period of that critical season, in which it seemed not improbable that the standard of liberty would be laid prostrate at the foot of a monarch whose appetite for prerogative and despotism could never be satisfied, sir Henry Vane, as has been mentioned, with three others, set out as commissioners from the parliament, to secure, if it might be in time, a friendly and effectual aid from the Scottish nation, in the contest which was now raging in the south.

Struggles
 of the Scots
 against
 episcopacy.

Presbyterianism was at this time the universal religious persuasion of the Scots. Charles the First, influenced perhaps principally by the idea that episcopacy was more favourable to the ple-

nary exercise of regal authority, had made two unsuccessful attempts to force that form of church-government, and a liturgy, upon his native kingdom; and these attempts had only served to confirm their already powerful aversion to both. Twice the Scots had resisted in arms the meditated incroachments of the sovereign; and the second time, in 1640, they had invaded the northern English county of Northumberland, and, the king's forces having retreated before them, had taken possession of the strong town of Newcastle.

1640.

They get
possession
of Newcas-
tle.

It was not credible that the Scottish army had advanced thus far, without having received some encouragement from their southern neighbours. If the Scots were vehemently inflamed by the disingenuous treatment they had experienced from the king, a spirit of discontent had long spread itself widely among the English. The same despotical humour in the sovereign had excited nearly equal alarm in both nations; and, if the question of episcopacy were the main subject which roused the Scots in arms, a great portion of the English nation were animated with equal dislike to the institution, at least as it then flourished among us. No doubt private cabals had been in active operation between the leaders in both nations; and the rout at Newburn, which put the Scots in possession of Newcastle, was generally believed to be in part the effect of those

Cabals of
the English
and Scot-
tish leaders.

August 28.

CHAP.
VII.

1640.
Saville's
forgery.

cabals. But, in addition to what actually passed on the side of the English, lord Saville had forged a letter of dangerous import, which he sent into Scotland ^a, annexing to it the pretended signatures of the earls of Bedford ^b, Essex, and Warwick, together with those of viscount Say, and the lords Brooke and Kimbolton; and this letter was supposed to have had a considerable effect in determining the Scots on the invasion of England.

The king's
purposes
baffled.

In the event of this expedition Charles saw himself disappointed in all those projects which he had been maturing for years, and delivered, as one might almost say, bound hand and foot into the hands of an English parliament, which he had always found sufficiently retrograde to his desires. He must have been more or less than man, if these circumstances had not deeply irritated him. It seems to have been one of the schemes of himself and the earl of Strafford, to have opened the Long Parliament with an impeachment against those who had treasonably invited the Scots to the invasion of England ^c. But, while Charles and his minister were digesting their plans, and arranging their evidence, the parliamentary leaders defeated the whole scheme by impeaching Strafford himself.

He pur-
poses to im-
peach the
English
leaders for
their part in
these cabals.

Nov. 11.

^a Burnet's Own Time, Book I. The letter at length is to be found in Oldmixon. ^b This earl of Bedford died, May 9, 1641.

^c Rushworth, Trial of Strafford, p. 2.

A treaty of pacification between the two nations had been begun at Rippon in the county of York; and Charles, who felt himself in the hands of a party which he had not previously favoured, appointed sixteen popular noblemen, including five out of the six whose names had been used by lord Saville, to negotiate with eight commissioners on the part of the invaders^d. The article most immediately pressing, was that of the subsistence of the Scottish army, who, as their leaders phrased it, "could not think, as their affairs stood, of returning home^e," and who, being now quartered at large in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, must either provide for themselves by pillage, or be supported by a fixed allowance from the English. The opposition lords, anticipating the great civil struggle which was likely to commence immediately upon the meeting of their own parliament, were not displeased that the Scottish forces, whom they considered as their allies, should be cantoned in the north of England; and it was presently stipulated that eight hundred and fifty pounds *per diem* should be levied for their subsistence upon these counties, as long as the treaty should continue^f. This preliminary adjusted, the farther discussions were transferred to London. The rout at Newburn had occurred on the twenty-

CHAP.
VII.

1640.
Treaty of
Rippon.

adjourned
to London.

^d Rushworth, Vol. III, p. 1282.

^e Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 48.

^f Ibid. p. 47.

CHAP.
VII.

1640.

eighth of August; the conferences at Rippon had not been opened till the first of October^g; and the beginning of November was the time fixed for the meeting of the English parliament, when the presence of the lords commissioners appointed to conduct the negotiation would be necessary in the metropolis. It was no small point gained to the friends of liberty in England, that by this arrangement they would have a committee of the Scottish leaders always on the spot, with whom to concert their measures. The principal of these were the earl of Dumferline and lord Loudon^h.

^g Rushworth, Vol. III, p. 1286. Guthry, Memoirs, p. 87.

^h It is proper in this place to take notice of a circumstance which had occurred early in the present year (1640), as it places in a strong light the arbitrary character and policy of Charles. Loudon, who was at this time in London, being sent up as a commissioner from the covenanters to negociate with the sovereign, was by the king's authority committed to the Tower, on the allegation of a treasonable letter to the French king, which he, in common with other covenanters, had subscribed, but not sent. While he was in confinement, a warrant was directed under the king's hand to the lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to cause his prisoner's head to be struck off the next morning; and it was only by the intreaties and remonstrances of the marquis of Hamilton, that Charles was prevailed on to revoke his order. Birch, Enquiry concerning Glamorgan, Appendix. Burnet, in his Memoirs of Hamilton, which passed under the revisal of Charles II, says, p. 161, "There were some ill instruments about the king, who advised him to proceed capitally against Loudon, *which is believed went very far*; but the marquis opposed this vigorously, assuring the king, that if that were done, Scotland was for ever lost." The innuendo in this passage, is explained by an authentic document in Birch.

The chief articles insisted on by the Scottish commissioners were, that the acts of their parliament of the preceding summer, which had been censured by the king, should be ratified, that the national fortresses should be placed in their hands, that a certain number of those by whom their measures had been resisted should be proceeded against as incendiaries, and that the Scottish nation should be indemnified for the heavy charges and losses they had sustained by the warⁱ. The English commissioners, who were desirous by all means to conciliate the good will of the Scots, called on their deputies in an early sitting to state the amount of their losses. The answer returned carried the sum to the extent of five hundred and fourteen thousand pounds^k. The commissioners added however, that the Scots had sustained this mischief in the common cause, and would have cheerfully supported the whole expence, were it not that it greatly exceeded their ability: they therefore expected nothing more than a proportionable compensation for such losses as they were unable to meet of themselves^l. Accordingly three hundred thousand pounds were voted by parliament, as a "fit proportion for the friendly assistance afforded, and the losses sustained, by our brethren of Scotland^m."

CHAP.
VII.

1640.
Demands of
the Scots.

1641.

Brotherly
assistance
voted by the
parliament

Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 364, et seqq. ^k Sanderson, p. 357.

Ibid. p. 358.

^m Journals of Commons, Feb. 3.

CHAP.
VII.

1641.

Grand
treaty fi-
nished.King makes
a progress
to Scotland.His mo-
tives.Plot in the
English ar-
my.

This point being adjusted, neither party were in a hurry to complete the negociation, since, as long as the treaty was in discussion, a fair pretence was afforded for keeping the Scots' committee in London, and thus for improving the intercourse of the malcontent parties in either kingdom. But in June 1641 the king signified his intention of visiting his northern metropolis; and in consequence the treaty was completed on the seventh of August^a, it being held particularly desirable under these circumstances, that both armies should be immediately disbanded.

The journey of Charles into Scotland is in reality to be regarded as the preparation of a civil war; as, in case of that event, he conceived it might be of the utmost importance to prevent his having to encounter the malcontents of both nations at once. From the first meeting of the Long Parliament he had contemplated its dispersion, hoping in the mean time to derive from the peremptoriness of its proceedings arguments to persuade the more moderate part of the nation, to acquiesce in the measures of the court, and yield the reins into his hands. Early in the year he had countersigned, to signify his approbation of it, a petition to be presented by the officers of the English army, condemning the proceedings which were taking place in London, and offering

^a Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 362, et seqq.

to "wait upon the king in person^o," for the purpose of suppressing these insolencies and tumults. This project had proved abortive. It was however sufficiently clear that Charles meditated the dispersion of the parliament by force; and his proposed journey to Scotland was therefore an object of much jealousy. He had no sooner set out, than the parliament appointed a committee of four persons, with Hampden and Fiennes at their head, to proceed to Edinaburgh, there to treat with such commissioners as might be appointed by the Scottish parliament, and to send from time to time. information to the parliament in London of their proceedings^p.

CHAP.
VII.
1641.

Hampden
and Fien-
nes sent to
Edinburgh

The Scottish legislative assembly met, pursuant to its adjournment, on the fifteenth of July^q; and on the nineteenth of August the king addressed them in a speech from the throne^r. His purpose was to conciliate. His Scottish subjects had indeed little more to ask. Episcopacy and a liturgy were now out of the question there; they had carried a law for triennial parliaments; and in other respects had placed their rights on the clearest footing. North of the Tweed the king had lost all the points that were nearest his heart, and could not hope, at least for the present,

King ad-
dresses the
Scottish
parliament.

^o Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 246, 247.

^p Journals of Commons, Aug. 17. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 375, 376.

^q Guthry, p. 95.

^r Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 382.

CHAP.
VII.

1641.

to recover them. His next aim was to play a more prosperous game in the southern part of the island; and he could desire nothing better of the Scots, than that they might be prevailed with quietly to look on and see a question tried in England, in the issue of which all their recent acquisitions would in reality be at stake. It must have been a memorable spectacle to see Charles and those who attended him in his progress openly courting the presbyterians, while Hampden and Fiennes, much abler statesmen, proceeded without noise and observation, but probably more securely, towards their object.

Characters
of its lead-
ers.

The most considerable public characters at this time in Scotland were the marquis of Hamilton, and the earls of Argyle and Montrose. Hamilton was a professed courtier, and in peaceable times would have made a brilliant figure in the train of his sovereign. But he was subtle by nature, and timid in his disposition. He appears to have been infected with the spirit at that time prevalent in his country, and devoted in his heart to the presbyterian system^a: at the same time that he endeavoured to reconcile this predilection with a sincere attachment to the king. This gave to his conduct a fluctuating and enigmatical ap-

^a This appears with sufficient evidence from Guthry's Memoirs; and it is still more fully proved by the deep interest taken in his behalf in Baillie's Letters, *passim*.

pearance; and, if his own countrymen understood him, the king at least was deceived. Argyle on the other hand was a man of fixed temper, and steady to his principles: the presbyterians relied on him, and placed their hopes to a great degree in his conduct and resolution. Montrose had commenced his course in the same career as Argyle; but he was of a turbulent temper and unbounded ambition. He saw that, in the party in which he had first engaged, he had no chance of outstripping his rival; and therefore, about two years before the period we are treating, made clandestine overtures to the court, which were accepted. His secret correspondences and intrigues were however detected; and, when Charles arrived in Scotland, he had already been thrown into prison by the prevailing party †.

CHAP.
VII.
1643.

All these circumstances were productive of a singular train of events. Charles directed his attentions to the ostensible leaders, and was desirous to secure to himself their good will and support. They were authorised, according to the late regulations of the Scottish parliament, to dispose among themselves, to a great degree, of the chief offices of state †. Montrose, as is so often the fortune of a court, being unseen, was forgotten. But he re-

Charles
pays court
to the pres-
byterians.

Montrose
addresses
the king.

† Wishart, Chapter I. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 926. Guthry, p. 94.

‡ Burnet, Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 181, 182. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 368.

CHAP. VII.
 1641. solved not to be forgotten. He made some communications to Charles, which appear greatly to have roused the attention of the monarch. We are even told that a secret interview was effected^w. Montrose, so lately a leader among the presbyterians, was in possession of many of their designs. He convinced the king, that Hamilton, his seeming friend, was no less dangerous to him, than Argyle, his avowed adversary. It is said that Montrose, with a ferocity characteristic of the times, offered Charles to have them both assassinated^w. But the king seems to have thought this too dangerous a course, and chose, as the milder alternative, to have them arrested, and proceeded against for treasonable correspondence with the leaders of the English army. Be this as it will, the two noblemen got intimation in time of the cabal that was going on against them, and withdrew themselves suddenly to a seat of Hamilton's, twelve miles from Edinburgh^x. The king, irritated with their retreat, demanded that they should be sequestered from their seats in parliament; but his influence was too little, to enable him to carry such a measure; and after an interval of two or three weeks it was voted that they should be recalled to their legislative duties^y. It was just at this time that the Popish

The Incident.
 Oct. 12.

Oct. 28.

^w Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 298.
 Letters, Vol. I, p. 331.

^x Guthry, p. 100. Baillie,
^y Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 384.

rebellion broke out in Ireland, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak. The transaction respecting Hamilton and Argyle received from the Scottish politicians the enigmatical name of the Incident.

CHAP.
VII.
1641.

Meanwhile the king was at once awed by the firmness he found in the Scottish parliament, and terrified by the overwhelming intelligence which reached him from Ireland. Whatever secret intrigues he was carrying on in that country, the events announced were far from being such as he wished them to prove. Thus circumstanced, he recollected the original purpose of his journey to Edinburgh, and retraced his steps. He had been hitherto not unaccustomed to be inconsiderate and therefore mutable in his measures; and he afforded a remarkable example of it in the present instance. He bestowed on Loudon the title of earl, who was appointed to the office of chancellor, and conferred on Argyle that of marquis, and on Alexander Leslie, who had commanded the Scottish armies against him, the title of earl of Leven. Montrose was at the same time set at liberty, and a reconciliation of all parties seemingly effected². The purpose of Charles was to leave his northern kingdom in the most friendly disposition towards him, that his utmost forbearance and condescension should be able to accomplish. The suc-

Charles becomes reconciled to the presbyterian leaders.

Nov. 15.

² Guthry, p. 103.

CHAP.
VII.

1641.

cess of his exertions for that purpose was however inconsiderable. The Scottish nation saw too well how deeply their cause was involved with that of the parliament of England, to be drawn aside from the line of a just policy by the smiles and fair words of the king.

But, though Charles resolved to carry himself smoothly towards his Scottish subjects, he returned to London in a very different temper towards the party who sought to control his career in the south. He came home full of the discoveries he had made of the measures which had been adopted by the leaders of the parliament here, to excite the Scots to the invasion of England. What those discoveries were, we are not precisely informed. They could not relate merely, or chiefly, to the letter lord Saville had forged, and of which the king had at one time nearly gained possession^a, since that letter had the signature of peers only, and Charles's proceedings on his return were principally directed against members of the house of commons. Be that as it will, we may be sure, that while Charles was busy in Edinburgh, Hampden and Fiennes were not idle, and that whatever information he received, or projects he meditated, they were prepared to anticipate and defeat them. Accordingly, when the king commenced in so rash and extraordinary a man-

Returns to
London,
and pro-
ceeds
against the
five mem-
bers.

Nov. 25.

^a Burnet, Own Time, Book 1.

ner his proceedings against the five members, a principal charge against whom was, "that they had traiterously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England^b," the mischief, which he had intended to bring down upon their heads, they contrived to turn all upon his own.

CHAP.
VII.
1641.

The Scottish parliament was dissolved on the nineteenth of November; but, before they had closed their deliberations, they appointed a committee to proceed to London, to complete the articles of the treaty between the two countries, and to concert such measures as might be necessary for the relief of the Protestant interest in Ireland^c. These commissioners no sooner saw the extremities which were rapidly hastening on, the demand of the five members, and the king's retreat from the metropolis, than they hastened to offer their mediation to both parties, to compose the differences which unhappily threatened daily to become wider^d. This overture was by the king decisively rejected^d; he saw that the Scots, who were presbyterians and patriots, would prove very ill instruments for forwarding his purposes.

Committee
of the Scot-
tish parlia-
ment in
London.

1642.
Jan. 15.
Offer their
mediation.

It is declin-
ed by both
parties.

Nor were the English parliamentary leaders seriously disposed to invite their interposition: war was now inevitable; they well understood

Motives of
the parlia-
mentary
leaders.

^b Journals of Lords, Jan. 3, 1642.
p. 385. Guthry, p. 107.

^c Rushworth, Vol. IV,

^d Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 498.

CHAP.
VII.

1642.

the designs of the king, and felt how unsafe it was to tamper with their situation. Charles was in all haste to get the power of the sword into his own hands, and had at this very crisis attempted by an enterprising stroke to seize the persons of the leaders of the party that opposed him. This was no time for mediation; all trifling involved the danger of giving a fatal advantage to the royalists. The English patriots had prepared themselves for the conjuncture, and were resolved at least to encounter with a manful spirit the perils that awaited them. The Scots did not view the situation with equal apprehension and seriousness; and their interference, with the vain hope of conciliation, could only embroil matters, and increase the advantage of him whose fixed determination was to disperse the parliament.

Add to which, the parliamentary leaders were inclined, with a commendable independence of spirit, as far as might be, to put down their adversaries by their own proper exertions. They reserved the Scots, as a party whose good will they were desirous to cultivate, but whose actual interposition was to be demanded only in case of the utmost necessity.

A farther reason for this line of policy, was that the Scots had views of their own, which were not exactly copsonant to those of many of the English leaders. The Scots were rigid presbyterians; they had set up that form of church-government

in its amplest mode in their own country; and the object now that they held nearest to their hearts, was to see its model in undiminished excellence imparted to the neighbour kingdom. But the most enlightened of the parliamentary statesmen were by no means partial to this narrow and exclusive system of religion. They were not averse to a mitigated presbyterianism under the name of a national church; but they were devoted to the principle of intellectual freedom. The Scots demanded a rigorous suppression of sects and schisms; they avowedly maintained presbyterianism to be of divine institution, and regarded toleration with the utmost horror, as the direct parent of every kind of blasphemy and licentiousness. On the other hand the English leaders we speak of held it for a sacred maxim, that every man was to be protected in worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience.

CHAP.
VII.

1642.

An additional circumstance which rendered the alliance of the Scots a matter of peculiar delicacy and deliberation, was the actual state of parties in the English parliament. The most consummate statesmen were found among those who were devoted to the cause of religious liberty: but there was a party in the two houses, which had hitherto shewn itself superior in numbers to that of these statesmen, that was as bigoted to the strictest principles of presbyterianism as the Scots

Presbyterian party
in the parliament.

CHAP.
VII.

1642.

themselves. Hollis was to be regarded as the head of this party. Glyn, the recorder of London, and Maynard were among its ablest supporters. Waller and Massey in the army, sir Philip Stapleton and sir John Clotworthy, ranged themselves under the same banners. The celebrated Prynne, and Clement Walker, his inseparable brother^e, were flaming presbyterians. The most eminent of the parliamentary nobility, particularly Northumberland, Essex and Manchester, belonged to this body. The London clergy, and the metropolis itself, were almost entirely presbyterian. Upon the whole there was great reason to apprehend that this party, backed by the Scots, and supported with a Scottish army, would be strong enough to overpower the advocates of free conscience, and set up a tyranny, not less to be deplored than that of Laud and his hierarchy which had proved one of the main occasions of bringing on the war. It is a striking evidence of the ability and energy of the statesmen we are speaking of, that they succeeded in foiling so powerful an alliance as was here marshalled against them.

1643.
Embassy of
Vane and
others to
the parlia-
ment of
Scotland.

But, whatever danger and delicacy attended the calling in of the Scots as brothers of the war, the case of severe necessity which rendered this measure unavoidable, occurred in the summer of

^e Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, art. Clement Walker.

1643. The defeat of Waller, the surrender of Bristol, the irresolute and fluctuating mind of Essex, and the plain indications of apostacy which discovered themselves in various quarters, all together, produced a situation that was not to be trifled with. The English, who had lately been coy and reserved in their overtures to their neighbours in the north, found it requisite to change their system of policy. The Scots on the other hand had looked forward to the period of such an application, and were thoroughly disposed to regard it with an eye of favour.

CHAP.
VII.

1643.

It is a striking circumstance in this transaction, that Vane, who seems to have been considered at this time as the main and most active leader in the affairs of the parliament, was obliged, together with the other commissioners, to proceed for Scotland by sea, probably in consequence of the defeat of lord Fairfax, and the temporary ascendancy of the earl of Newcastle in the north of England. He was dismissed in London on the twentieth of July, and did not reach Edinburgh before the ninth of August following^f. Thus for twenty days he was perhaps out of the reach of any intelligence respecting the affairs of the commonwealth. This was the most critical period in the whole history of the war, the period in which there was for the moment the greatest appearance

Are twenty
days in
making the
voyage.

^f Journals, July 19. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 466.

CHAP.
VII.

1643.

that Charles would gain decisively the advantage over the parliament, and be able effectually to extinguish the cause of liberty in this country. Vane sailed to negotiate an aid for the English legislature engaged in hostilities against their prince; and it was not certain, that the first news that would reach him when he entered the harbour of Leith, might not be that he had no constituents to represent. During this suspense he seems to have preserved all his serenity. He did not believe that, judged as the cause of Charles had been, and condemned, by the most sober and enlightened portion of the people of England, it would be possible to put down the spirit of liberty. He persuaded himself that, even if the cavaliers gained possession of the metropolis, and dispersed the parliament, their triumph would be short. And we may be very sure that he was sustained through all by the verdict of his conscience, and the holy zeal he entertained for a cause, which, as he believed, comprised in it every thing that was valuable to the existence of man.

Solemn
league and
covenant.

The negotiation was not attended with much difficulty. With a commendable firmness and zeal the Scots determined to support the English parliament, and to maintain the common cause by force of arms, undismayed by the perilous situation in which affairs in England then stood. There were difficulties which opposed themselves

in the way of this conclusion ; but the character of Vane, and the high respect which attended him, did much for the removal of these difficulties. The spirit of presbyterianism in church-government had long constituted the main obstacle to a more close union of counsels between the two nations. Under the auspices of Vane a middle way was found out and pursued in this matter ; and the fruit of the compromise now entered into was the Solemn League and Covenant. By this instrument it was stipulated that “the Protestant religion should be sustained in Scotland according to the forms already established,” while “the reformation in England should be effected agreeably to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches.” The Scottish negociators did not doubt that their church entirely answered this description ; while the English were satisfied that they were not bound by this agreement to any thing that was not in consent with the dictates of their own consciences. Both parties were contented to gain for themselves at present the best terms that they could, and trusted to the course of events to clear up to their satisfaction what was now left equivocal.

CHAP.
VII.
1643.

The Solemn League and Covenant was voted Aug. 17. on the same day by the legislature, and the assembly of the church, at Edinburgh^h. The Scot-

^g Journals of Lords, Sep. 18.

^h Burnet, Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 239.

CHAP.
VII.

1643.
Convention
of estates in
Scotland.

tish parliament had sat in 1641, and by the triennial act they would meet again in the third year, whether they were formally summoned by the king to do so, or not. But the prevailing party in Scotland were desirous that a meeting of the legislature should be held in the present year. They accordingly applied to Charles to grant their desires, but he refused. They then had recourse to an ancient provision, by which it had not been unusual, in case of the king's being a minor, to call together that body, without the intervention of the royal authority, the meeting in that case being called, not a parliament,^j but a conventionⁱ. Charles was at length obliged to give an imperfect sanction to this measure^k. He had offered various bribes, one of them that every third office of state through the island should be filled by a Scotsman, to the party in power, to prevail on them to espouse his cause, or at least to engage that they would observe a strict neutrality^l. But in vain: the general sense and feeling of the nation led to the adoption of measures the most adverse to the wishes of the king.

Covenant
adopted
and sub-
scribed in
London.

Few difficulties attended the adoption of that engagement in England, which Vane had conducted through the necessary authorities in the northern kingdom. That the proceedings might be conducted with all practicable similarity, this

ⁱ Burnet, p. 218. Guthry, p. 130. ^k Burnet, p. 231. ^l Ibid. p. 236.

instrument was referred by the two houses of parliament to an assembly of divines, which had commenced its sittings on the first of the preceding July^m, being called together by an act of the legislature, to be consulted with by the parliament for the purpose of settling the government and form of worship of the church of England. The assembly consisted of one hundred and twenty-one individuals of the clergy; and, as in Scotland, a number of lay-assessors were joined with them, consisting of ten peers, and twenty members of the house of commons. All these persons were named by the ordinance of the two houses of parliament which gave birth to the assemblyⁿ. The public taking of the covenant by the lords and commons was solemnised on the twenty-fifth of September, each member attesting his adherence to it, first by oath, and then by subscribing his name^o. Vane did not himself return to London till the twenty-sixth of October^p.

CHAP.
VII.

1643.
Assembly
of divines
at West-
minster.

The most immediate result of the concert thus entered into between Scotland and England, was the raising and marshalling an army of twenty thousand men on the part of the former, to co-operate with the forces of the parliament. This reinforcement crossed the Tweed on the nineteenth of January following^q.

Army of
Scots
raised and
marched
to the aid
of the par-
liament.

^m Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 339.

ⁿ Journals of Lords, June 12.

^o Journals of Commons, Sep. 22. Whitlocke, p. 74.

^p Journals of Commons.

^q Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 606.

CHAPTER VIII

ELEMENTS OF THE KING'S ARMY.—CHARACTER OF RUPERT.—OF THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.—DISCOURTEENANCE SHEWN TO THE FUGITIVE LORDS, HOLLAND, BEDFORD AND CLARE, AT OXFORD.—CHARACTERS OF THE BROTHER-EARLS, WARWICK AND HOLEAND.—THE FUGITIVES RETURN AND SUBMIT TO THE PARLIAMENT.—A NEW GREAT-SEAL MADE FOR THE SERVICE OF THE PARLIAMENT.—COURTS OF JUSTICE RESTORED.—EMBASSY TO HOLLAND.—FIENNES CONDEMNED TO DEATH FOR THE SURRENDER OF BRISTOL.—PARDONED.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
Elements
of the
king's
army.

THE tide of fortune had set so strongly in favour of the king immediately after the surrender of Bristol, as would infallibly have reduced hearts less devoted, and minds less energetic, than those of many who guided the resistance against him, to despair. This was however a very short triumph to the royalists; and it soon became visible that they had nothing of a substantial and permanent nature to sustain them. Prosperity is a condition peculiarly dangerous to those who have no

intrinsic greatness of mind, and no true generosity of feeling. The most eminent persons who commanded under the standard of Charles, thought more of their private gratification, and attended more to the whispers of their ambition, than to the interests of the sovereign.

CHAP.
VIII.

1648.

One of the most striking differences between the character of the royalist and of the commonwealth's army, lay in this, the great progressive improvement which displayed itself in the latter. England had enjoyed a long period of peace; and, when the civil war broke out, there was not perhaps one man of great military skill to be found in her borders. The soldiery were not less raw than their generals, with this variation, that, as the royalists marched in the name of the king, were led to the field under the first, and many of the most respected, nobility of the land, and had the old institutions of the kingdom in their favour, they at first exhibited a more regular and imposing appearance; while the parliamentarians had nothing to bear them out, but a conscientious and deep sense of religion, and the love of liberty and their country. But then the royalists scarcely improved in any thing; they had for the most part nothing of public spirit; and in point of morality and discipline were continually on the decline. The body of the parliamentary armies perpetually advanced in every thing that is of most importance to the character and success of a sol-

Contrasted
with the
army of the
parliament.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Noble commanders for the king.

Rupert and Maurice.

dier; and their smaller exploits were a hot-bed which ripened minds the most admirably adapted for command, Fairfax, Cromwel, and many others to whom our attention will be called in the course of this history.

The original commanders under Charles were noblemen of great weight in their country, and of very honourable and popular qualities. They loved the pomp and station to which they were born; they were attached to their king: but they had no passion for military renown, and could not endure the privations and perseverance which are requisite to the forming a great warlike leader. Charles seems to have thought, as a remedy for this, of calling over a certain portion of talent from the continent; but his experiment was not successful. He had two nephews, Rupert and Maurice, sons of his sister the queen of Bohemia, who were anxious to distinguish themselves in his service; and the former of them especially was not deficient in ability. But they were too young and too presumptuous. Rupert was twenty-three, and Maurice twenty-two years of age, at the breaking out of the civil war. They thought contemptuously of the officers of the English army, and particularly of those in highest place. They were much to seek in that knowledge of the world, which is so eminently required in persons who are to mix with others, and in those professions and pursuits, where a man can do nothing, unless he

can carry other men, hand and heart, along with him in the achievements he undertakes. They were also inflated with a sense of their royal birth and near relationship to the king. Immediately on his arrival Rupert had the appointment conferred on him of general of the horse in the royal army; and unluckily there was a clause in his commission, exempting him from receiving any orders but from Charles himself^a.

CHAP.
VIII.
1648.

It is surprising in how many ways all this was injurious to the cause in which Rupert was engaged. We have seen how the character and manners of this officer operated upon the chivalrous and high-spirited earl of Newcastle, who marched back to the north, when his sovereign required his services in the south, chiefly moved to this by his fear of the mortifications he would experience, if once he came into contact with Rupert. But the consequences of the impracticable temper of the prince were still more important in the sequel.

Earl of
Newcastle.

The original commander in chief of the royal army, the earl of Lindsey, was killed in the first battle that had been fought, at Edgehill. After him, there was no person of more consideration that marched beneath the standard of Charles, than the marquis of Hertford. This nobleman was great-grandson and direct lineal heir to the

Marquis of
Hertford.

^a Echard.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Marries the
sister of Essex.

duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward the Sixth. His grandmother was the sister of lady Jane Grey; and he had himself contracted a matrimonial engagement with the unfortunate lady Arabella, whose pretensions to the crown of England were set up by a certain malcontent faction, in opposition to those of James the First. After the death of this lady in 1615, the marquis of Hertford, though a very young man, retired into the country, and devoted himself to rural pleasures, and the cultivation of literature. In a short time, he married the sister of the earl of Essex, now general of the parliamentary army; and from that period his connections lay principally among those who were least in favour at court.

But no sooner did it appear that there would be open war between the king and the sticklers for liberty, than the marquis, stimulated by his old prejudices in favour of monarchy, and of the pomp and splendour of our ancient establishments, declared for the former. His accession to the royal cause was welcomed with the greatest cordiality. In the year 1642 he was appointed governor to the prince of Wales; and general for the king in the western counties of England^b; and he appears, if not with great professional ability, yet with earnestness and zeal, to have de-

^b Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 425, 681.

voted himself to the forwarding the cause of his sovereign.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
Maurice
commands
under Hert-
ford.

Prince Maurice was named lieutenant-general of the army of the west under lord Hertford^c; and here appeared the first symptoms of that dissension, which was afterwards so injurious to the king's service. Maurice, and his brother for him, were somewhat discontented that he should stand second in command under an English subject, who was wholly unversed in the science of war^d. Add to which, the partialities of Maurice were purely military; he was anxious to favour the soldiery and acquire their favour in return, and careless as to the interests and quiet of the peaceful inhabitant: while Hertford was tender of his countrymen, believed the good-will of the people to be necessary to the success of the struggle, and regarded war as an instrument, desirable only so far as it led to a solid and beneficial peace^e. Thus the seeds of discontent were at work, which broke out more openly upon the surrender of Bristol.

Bristol lay properly within the jurisdiction of Hertford, as general of the army of the west. This nobleman was therefore offended, that he was not consulted, nor even so much as named, in the articles of capitulation^f. In another point he determined to be beforehand, and publicly de-

Dissensions
in the king's
army.

^c Ibid. Vol. II, p. 274.

^e Ibid. p. 277.

^d p. 306.

^f Ibid. p. 306.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

clared that he should bestow the government of the place upon sir Ralph Hopton, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the war^g. Rupert, by whose prowess and enterprise the city seemed to be reduced, considered this as an invasion of his rights, and, not venturing to favour any other competitor, desired the king to assign the government of *Bristol* to himself^h. The dispute finally appeared to be adjusted by making Rupert nominally governor, and Hopton lieutenant-governor with an absolute possession of the functions^h: but the ill blood had by this time risen so high, that Charles thought it expedient to remove Hertford entirely from the military department, under the pretence of keeping him more immediately about his personⁱ. To shew that no disfavour or unkindness was intended in this, the earl of Pembroke, who had gone with the parliament, was at this time removed from the chancellorship of the university of Oxford, and the marquis of Hertford chosen in his room^k. Great bickerings and discontents however remained in the army; and the removal of Hertford, who was admired for his integrity, and beloved for his gentleness, left an unpleasant recollection behind, which was of much disservice to the king.

^g Ibid. p. 306.^h p. 308.ⁱ p. 311.^k Collins, Peerage, art. Duke of Somerset.

It happened unfortunately that this jealousy and debate occurred at the very period when the success of Charles appeared to be about wholly to extinguish that of the parliament. The earl of Essex had entered into a traitorous engagement with Northumberland, Holland, Bedford and Clare, to desert the cause in which they were engaged. But Essex was brother-in-law to Hertford; and the discountenance now thrown upon the marquis first made the parliamentary general waver in the path he was choosing¹. He was then won over by the persuasiveness and assiduities of the parliamentary leaders, and finally, with a recruited army and renewed courage, took the field, raised the siege of Gloucester, and by the battle of Newbury secured and effected his return to the capital. These were the first proceedings that gave a new turn to the face of affairs.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
Unfavourable effects
of these dis-
sentions.

In the mean while the great desertion of the parliament took place. The earl of Northumberland retired to his country-seat in Sussex; and the earls of Holland, Bedford and Clare threw themselves into the king's quarters. Northumberland soon repented, and returned to his former station. This was a moment that demanded the utmost forbearance, good humour and condescension on the royal part; and in no instance did the folly and obstinacy of the court shew itself so

Discountenance
shewn to the
fugitive
lords.

¹ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 323.

CHAP.
VIII.

1649.

conspicuously. One of the main characteristics of the unfortunate Charles was that he never did any thing in a gracious manner; and the courtiers that attended him were raised into a flame at the very thought, that the persons who had for a considerable time acted against them, and now came over when the cause of the parliament appeared desperate, should share in honours, emoluments, and favour, equally with them who had borne the brunt of the day^m. All was selfishness and narrowness of soul in the royal camp. If these earls had been well received and countenanced, it would have been a signal for all who were tired of the parliament, or wanted firmness of mind to adhere to the public cause through good and evil events, that upon a shew of repentance they might be assured of forgiveness. As it was, they were feelingly taught that there was no hope for them but in an unaltered constancy; and from this time the parliament experienced no desertions.

Earls of
Warwick
and Hol-
land.

It may be worth while in this place to introduce the opposite characters of two brothers, the earls of Warwick and Holland, sons of the unfortunate wedlock of Robert lord Rich, with the celebrated Penelope sister of queen Elizabeth's earl of Essex. They were therefore first cousins to the present commander of the parliamentary army.

^m Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 323, 329.

Their dispositions and early fortune are thus spiritedly described by the contemporary historian of James the First ^a.

CHAP.
VIII.
1643.

“They were two emulous corrivals in the public affections, the one’s brownness being accounted a lovely sweetness transcending most men, the other’s features and pleasant aspect equalling the most beautiful women ; the younger, having the full dimensions of a courtier, laid out the stock of his fortune upon that soil, which after some years patience came up with increase ; but the elder, though he had all those endowments of body and fortune that give splendour to a court, yet could not so stoop to observances, and used it but as a recreation.”

Their subsequent fortunes corresponded with this beginning. Holland was eminently a favourite with king James and with the queen of Charles the First, and was considered as the most elegant and accomplished ornament of the court ; while Warwick after a short experiment grew tired of the fopperies of the presence-chamber. He first engaged in the then reigning passion of adventuring and generous spirits, the planting of colonies in the western world ^o : but he soon found a field for his activity nearer home. He was a

Character
of War-
wick.

^a Wilson, p. 162. ^o Wilson, p. 162. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I, p. 64.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

man of a free spirit and a lively wit, with all those qualities which form the pleasure of society, and most certainly attach other men to the individual who is endowed with them. Among the parties whose contention preceded the civil wars, Warwick united himself with the puritans, and is represented as having prayed with their preachers, at the same time that he occasionally made a jest of their formality and demureness^p. Be that as it will, certain it is that he did not forfeit their confidence; and, though his language and demeanour were not formed in their school, they gave him all credit for the sincerity with which he extended his protection towards them. The particular qualities of Warwick, his known alienation from the court, the flexibility of his temper, and his singular aptness for gaining the affections of men, especially in the ordinary and middling classes of society, added to his eminent talents and abundant wealth, quickly pointed him out to the parliament as a proper person to secure the service of the fleet; and in March 1642 he was appointed to the command, a trust which he willingly accepted. In this office he gave entire satisfaction to his employers; and when in the June of the following year the king revoked the earl of Northumberland's appointment of lord

^p Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 210.

high admiral, Warwick was immediately fixed on by his party to fill the office which had thus become vacant.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Character
of Holland.

Holland was of a disposition exceedingly different from that of his elder brother. He had been the confidential friend of Villiers duke of Buckingham, and was now upon terms of the most perfect intimacy with the accomplished Lucy countess of Carlisle^a. They were the handsomest individuals in the court of Charles the First, and were greatly caressed by both king and queen, till some of those sources of coolness interposed which naturally arise within that sphere. A particular animosity was bred between Holland and Strafford: Strafford was well qualified to be the minister of a despot; but he had few of those endowments which conciliate love, and least of all among the fair-spoken flutterers of a drawing-room. Holland shrunk from the unbending severity of the minister; and Strafford felt a mortal antipathy to the superficial and gaudy levity of Holland. Clarendon says^r, that Strafford once upon some occasion was so exasperated against the other, as to allow himself to say, that "the king would do well to cut off his head;" an ex-

^a Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 296. Waller, in a complimentary copy of verses, designates Venus as being

—the bright Carlisle of the Court of Heaven.

Her character by sir Toby Mathews is a very remarkable composition. See Waller's Works, by Fenton.

^r Vol. I, p. 150.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
He deserts
the court.

His cabals.

pression not likely to be forgiven. It is also instructive in more ways than one. From this time Holland sought new courses, and got into great familiarity with his kinsman, the earl of Essex. It was lady Carlisle that secretly gave notice to the five members, so as to enable them to withdraw a few minutes before Charles entered the house of commons to arrest them^a; and Holland was the first person who conveyed to the opposition intelligence of the design to bring up the army to disperse the parliament¹. From this period he declared openly for the opposition, and was much trusted by them; till, after the surrender of Bristol, he became alarmed for his own safety, and thought that it would be best for him to make his peace in time. He believed that, in conjunction with Northumberland and Essex, he should be able to compel the parliament to submit; and he did not doubt that by that merit he should finally establish himself at court upon a more prosperous footing than ever. The project for this purpose having failed, he considered the attempt as a sufficient expiation for his former errors; and bringing with him as he did the earls of Bedford and Clare, and expecting to be followed by Northumberland and others, he felt a confidence that he should be well received at Oxford, and that the sun of royal favour would shine upon him as brightly as before.

^a Echard, *sub anno*.

¹ Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 289, 295.

In all this he was disappointed. Charles, as we have said, discovered the stiffness and repulsiveness of character for which he was remarkable; and the adherents of the court could not endure the thought, that a repentant offender should be received with the same grace as themselves, who had served their master alike in good and in evil fortune. To prove his sincerity, Holland went to the army, and fought in person for the king in the battle of Newbury^u. But all would not do. He found himself shunned by the courtiers, and discountenanced by Charles. He was shocked by what he saw of the poverty of the court^w, and soon perceived that the affairs of the parliament were recovering from the low ebb at which he left them. Finally he resolved that his future conduct should be determined by one particular issue. At the commencement of the war Charles had sent his dismissal of Essex from the office of lord chamberlain, and of Holland from that of groom of the stole. This latter office had however remained vacant to the present time; and Holland thought, that the least remuneration that could be yielded him for his services now done and attempted, was his restoration to that post. He conceived himself to have secured that point by his secret correspondence with Oxford before he took his decisive step: but Charles, after hav-

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
Repairs to
the king at
Oxford.

Is disap-
pointed.

Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 362.

^w Ibid. 366.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Returns to
the parlia-
ment.Is imitated
by the earls
of Bedford
and Clare.Northum-
berland in-
dicted for
high trea-
son by the
king.

ing kept the question some time in suspense, finally bestowed the appointment upon the marquis of Hertford, as a compensation for his loss of the office of general of the west^x.

Lord Holland had gone to the king with a full resolution to expiate his past offences: he inferred from the double experiment he had tried, that the court was his proper element: he bitterly felt, that the last step he had taken was irrevocable, and that, if he went back to the parliament, it would however be impossible for him to recover their confidence. But all these considerations were too weak to hold him in the king's quarters; the treatment he received appeared to him intolerable. He returned towards the capital^y; and, after a short quarantine, was admitted to assume in appearance his former station. The earls of Bedford and Clare, as they had accompanied him in his desertion, so did they imitate him in his return; and Charles had finally the happiness to find that neither his court nor his army contained one person that had ever drawn his sword on the other side^z.

To make the breach more irreparable, a commission was at this time opened by sir Robert Heath, the royalist chief justice of the king's bench, sir John Bankes, chief justice of the com-

^x Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 363, 366. ^y Journals of Lords, Nov. 6.

^z Hurry is certainly an exception. See p. 112.

mon pleas, and two other judges, at Salisbury, at which an indictment of high treason was preferred against the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke and Salisbury, together with divers members of the house of commons; but they could not prevail upon the grand jury to find the bills^a.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

The parliament, having recovered from the severe blow they had experienced in the defeat of Waller and the surrender of Bristol, proceeded to adopt more decisive measures in certain points where they had hitherto temporised. The courts of law, and the administration of justice, civil and criminal, particularly demanded their attention. In the first place they proceeded to a conclusion on the charge against judge Berkeley in the question of ship-money. He was brought up for trial on the eighth of September; and, having confessed the substance of the charge, and pleaded certain extenuating circumstances, judgment was pronounced against him on the twelfth, that he should be fined in the sum of twenty thousand pounds, that he should be dismissed from his office, and made incapable hereafter to hold any place in the state, and that he should be imprisoned in the Tower during the pleasure of the house of lords that had judged him^b. In the following month baron Trevor received judgment to pay a fine of six thousand pounds for the same offence^c; and shortly after baron Henden was

Trial of
judge
Berkeley.

of other
judges.

^a Whitlocke, p. 78. ^b Journals of Lords. ^c Ibid Oct. 19, 20.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Lord
keeper
Littleton.

amerced in the sum of two thousand pounds by the house of lords, under the denomination of the twentieth part of his estate ^d. Baron Henden died early in the following year ^e. Judge Berkeley's fine was afterwards reduced to ten thousand pounds, and himself set at liberty.

Much stress was laid by the royalists upon the escape of Littleton, lord keeper of the great seal, and the conveying away the great seal itself; and the most vigilant manœuvres were employed for that purpose. This circumstance took place in May 1642, just before the commencement of the war ^f; but Littleton, like the majority of the fugitives who had for a time adhered to the parliament, was ill received at court. He was asked on his arrival at York whether he had not argued and voted for the ordinance of the militia, which he pusillanimously denied; but, a reference to the journals of parliament being obtained, the charge was found to be true ^g. He had delivered the seal to a messenger sent to him by the king, before he left London; and Charles never after restored it to his possession ^h. By this contrivance the parliament suffered two inconveniences. The great seal never attended their sittings, as by law they affirmed it ought to do; nor had they even

^d Ibid. Dec. 6. ^e His death is mentioned in the Journals of Feb. 21.

^f Journals of Lords, May 23, 1642.

^g Ibid. June 14, 1642.

^h Ibid. Sep. 6, 1642.

that advantage respecting it, that should arise from its being in the custody of a responsible officer. The king was in effect his own lord keeper.

CHAP.
VIII.
1643.

The house of commons, in consideration of the many embarrassments which resulted from this situation of things, resolved in the May of the present year, that a great seal of England should be forthwith made, to attend the parliament for dispatch of the affairs of the kingdomⁱ. But in this resolution the lords did not concur; and it therefore remained without present effect. In the following July the commons gave directions for the making a great seal^k; and in September the seal was brought, and directed to be sealed up, and delivered into the custody of the speaker, not to be made use of, till further orders^l. In October the lords signified their concurrence in the measure of the commons^m; and on the tenth of November an ordinance was passed, and commissioners appointed for the keeping the sealⁿ. The commissioners were the earls of Bolingbroke and Kent for the peers, together with Oliver St. John, solicitor-general, serjeant Wild, Samuel Browne, and Edmund Prideaux. At the same time Lenthal, the speaker, was formally appointed by the two houses to the office of master of the

Great seal
of the par-
liament.

Commis-
sioners of
the great
seal ap-
pointed.
Master of
the Rolls.

Journals of Commons, May 15. ^k Ibid. July 5. ^l Ibid. Sep. 28.

^m Journals of Lords, Oct. 11.

ⁿ Journals of Lords.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Judicial
proceedings
suspended
for a time
by the par-
liament.

rolls^o, Pym to be lieutenant of the ordnance^p, and Selden keeper of the records in the Tower^q. To give the greater solemnity to the former of these appointments, it was ordered that the commissioners of the great seal should take the oaths of office, *en plein parlement*, both houses of the legislature being assembled and united together for that purpose^r.

The next care of those who had the administration of government under the parliament, was for the restoration of the ordinary course of civil and criminal justice. From the time that the king withdrew from the capital, there had been a contention on this subject between him and the opposite party, extremely injurious to the regular administration of law. By a sort of construction sufficiently familiar to the English government, wherever the king resides, that is held to be the seat of government, both political and civil. On the other hand, the place where the parliament sits, during the period of its assembly, has at least an equal claim to that denomination; and Charles had legally deprived himself of the power of terminating or removing its sittings, otherwise than with its own consent^s. Add to which, the great depository of ancient records and documents was in the metropolis. It was natural for

^o Ibid. Nov. 8.^p Ibid. Nov. 7.^q Ibid. Oct. 31.^r Journals, Dec. 16.^s It was Whitlocke who drew the act for that purpose.

both parties to feel very earnest in this question. If the king could draw after him the courts of law, this would not only give a striking sacredness to the quarter in which he dwelt, but would place to a considerable degree all the property and laws of the kingdom under the disposal of his advisers and confidants. Charles had accordingly scarcely arrived at York in the spring of the year 1642, before he sent orders to the lord keeper Littleton to adjourn by proclamation the next term from Westminster to York. Littleton however had not yet left the parliament; and the house of lords, having received some intimation of what was intended, forbade the lord keeper from taking any of the necessary steps for the accomplishment of this purpose ^t.

The struggle was regularly kept up between the king and the parliament as to the adjournment of the terms. On the fourth of October he issued from Shrewsbury a proclamation for adjourning the early part of the Michaelmas term ^u; and on the fifteenth of November, shortly after the affair of Brentford, a further proclamation from Oatlands adjourning the remainder, in consideration of the present distractions of the kingdom ^v. These proclamations were called in and declared null by the two houses of parliament ^v. Upon the occa-

^t Journals of Lords, May 17, 1642.

^u Husband's, p. 624.

^v Journals of Lords, Nov. 18, 1642.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

sion of Hilary term and Easter term of 1643 a similar operation took place: the king ordered a removal of part of the term in each instance to Oxford; and the parliament forbade any attention to be paid to the mandate. In the question of the Lent assizes for the same year, the king and the parliament changed positions. The parliament considered the metropolis as the proper scene for the observation of the terms, and regarded whatever was done in that behalf as safe under their protection; but they issued an ordinance suspending the circuits of the judges, till the restoration of peace^w. The king on the contrary regarded any attempt at the administration of justice as nugatory in the capital, that being the head-quarters of the enemy; but he pronounced it inexpedient, to disappoint his subjects in their expectation of the periodical administration by the circuit of the judges^x. Matters however gradually became worse, as the war raged more generally; and it is the observation of Whitlocke, about August 1643, that "the courts of justice were not yet open, and there was no practice for the lawyers^y."

Judicial
proceedings
at Oxford.

The king was not at first very successful in drawing the judges to follow his progress. They were by the constitution of England attendant on

^w Journals of Commons, Feb. 15, 28, 1643.

^x Husbands, p. 923. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 144.

^y Whitlocke, p. 71.

the house of lords; and they probably thought the payment of their salaries would be more secure from the parliament, than from the king. The first law-officer that joined him was the lord keeper. The next was sir Robert Heath, one of the puisné judges of the court of king's bench. Charles was anxious to render him a useful instrument for ^ahis purposes; and accordingly, having sent to Bramston, who still remained at London, to discharge him from the appointment of lord chief justice of that court ^z, he named Heath for his successor ^a. This done, he made haste, a few days before the battle of Edgehill, to commence proceedings before this officer to attain the earl of Essex and others of high treason ^b. The same judge Heath, a short time after, sat upon the trial of Lilburne, taken prisoner in arms at the action of Brentford; and his life was only saved by the parliament's menace of retaliation upon the prisoners in their hands. The next of the judges that joined the king was Foster, about the end of the year ^c; and at the treaty of Oxford in the beginning of 1643, Bankes, chief justice of the common pleas, appears to have been in regular attendance upon Charles ^d: but we may conclude, that neither of these last was con-

^a Journals of Lords, Oct. 17, 1642.

^a Dugdale, *Origines Juridicales*.

^b Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 42.

^c Journals of Commons, May 22, 1643.

^d Whitlocke, p. 68.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

sidered as having taken part against the parliament, since the names of both were included in the recommendations of the petition of the two houses then presented, for renovating and restoring the course of justice.

The names of the judges at the breaking out of the civil war, were Bramston, Heath, Mallet and Bacon for the king's bench, Bankes, Berkeley, Reeve and Foster for the common pleas, and Davenport, Trevor, Page and Henden, barons of the exchequer. Bramston, as we have seen, was displaced by the king; and Heath, Bankes and Foster were attendant on the court at Oxford. These three were parties to the attempt made at this time at Charles's instigation, to convict Northumberland and others of high treason. Mallet had twice incurred the displeasure of parliament; the first time by being privy to a petition against the ordinance of the militia, which was prepared at the spring-assizes for the county of Kent in 1642^e; and again, at the summer-assizes for Surrey, as Clarendon says^f, for refusing to read officially the directions of the parliament for marshalling the militia, but, as appears from the journals, for adjourning the assizes, and preparing to repair to the king^g: he was therefore a prisoner in the Tower of London. Berkeley had been deprived of his office by the judicial sentence of the

^e Journals of Lords, Mar. 28.

^f Vol. I, p. 701.

^g Journals of Lords, Aug. 5.

house of lords; and Henden was lying at the point of death. Of Davenport and Page nothing can be traced, except that, though nominally retaining their places, they appear to have wholly withdrawn themselves from the duties appertaining to them. The only three therefore that remained under the direction of the parliament, after what the lawyers call the long vacation in 1643, were, Bacon for the king's bench, Reeve for the common pleas, and Trevor for the exchequer.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

The parliament however now thought it high time, that the people of England should have the benefit of the due administration of the laws. The war had already lasted through two campaigns, and might not improbably continue two years longer. No sooner therefore were the new commissioners of the great seal authentically installed into their office, than above five hundred writs were immediately sealed by them, "so desirous were people to have the due course of justice proceed^h." At the same time the three judges that have been mentioned, presided in their several courts, for the trial of causes, and the discharge of the other functions committed to them.

Writs issued by the court of chancery.

Courts of law reopened.

A bold attempt was at this time made, to overturn whatever the parliament had set forward for

King sends his messengers to

^h Whitlocke, p. 79.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.
Westmin-
ster for the
adjourn-
ment of the
term.

this purpose. The king's several proclamations for the adjournment of the term had been rendered fruitless, for want of the requisite legal form of having the writs read in court. The judges at Oxford therefore, who were ready to enter upon business, could not, it was alleged, in this case open the courts there ; which otherwise they would not have scrupled to do, notwithstanding the ordinances of the two houses to the contrary, believing, as they said, that this interference was an assumption, and that the question was entirely out of the jurisdiction of the houses. Messengers therefore were at this time severally sent from Oxford, with instructions to find an opportunity of delivering the king's writs of adjournment into the hands of the judges. Two of the messengers effected their purpose, and delivered the writs in the customary form to Reeve and Trevor, who immediately ordered the bearers to be taken into custody. These daring emissaries were tried by a court martial as spies, and, having received sentence of death, one of them was executed *in terrorem* to future offenders in the same kind, and the other was reprieved¹.

Warwick
made high
admiral.

Another step taken by the parliament at this time, in which they assumed the full and entire functions of a government, was an ordinance in-

¹ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 407, 408. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 369, 370.

vesting the earl of Warwick with the office of lord high admiral ^k.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

The parliament was not less attentive to the vigilant administration of their interests on the continent, than they had been at home. In February 1642 the queen had sailed for Holland, with the purpose, by pawning her jewels, and whatever other means, of procuring arms and ammunition to assist her husband in a warlike resistance to the demands of the parliament. Towards the autumn of that year the committee of safety nominated Walter Strickland agent for the parliament to the republic of the United Provinces^l. This was before the sword had actually been drawn by either party in England. He was accompanied by a manly declaration addressed by the two houses of parliament to the states general, accusing the prince of Orange of secretly cherishing and aiding their adversaries. The parliament observed, that they could not believe that this was done by any authority from the states general, considering the great help they had received from this kingdom when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppression of their princes, and how conducive the friendship of this nation (concurring with the wisdom, valour and industry of their own people) had been to the greatness

Embassy to
Holland.

^k Journals of Lords, Dec. 7.

^l Journals of Commons, Aug. 20, 1642.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

and 'power which they now enjoyed : ' neither could they think, that the states would be forward to make that nation slaves, which had been useful and assistant in making them freemen. They added, that the question between the king and them was not, whether he should enjoy the same prerogative and power as his predecessors, but whether that prerogative and power should be employed to the people's defence or to their ruin. And they protested, that they had no other design but not to be destroyed, and to preserve their religion, themselves, and the other reformed churches of Christendom, from the massacres and extirpations, with which the principles of the Popish religion threatened both, and which were begun to be acted in Ireland. Finally they predicted, that if any more ordnance, armour or warlike stores were suffered to be brought over to strengthen the enemies of the parliament, these enemies, as soon as they should have prevailed here, would use that strength to the destruction of those from whom they received it^m.—The mission of Strickland belongs to the preceding year.

Trial of Fi-
ennes.

In the close of the year 1643 a circumstance occurred, which is of some importance as tending to illustrate the spirit of party, as it shewed itself among those who were originally engaged in the same cause of resistance to the despotism of

^m Journals of Lords, Aug. 22.

Charles the First. This was the trial of Nathaniel Fiennes for his conduct in the surrender of Bristol.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Friendship
of the lords
Say and
Brooke.

Among the earliest adversaries to the administration and policy of Charles, were lord viscount Say, and lord Brooke. They were both men of ability and virtue. They appear to have been bound to each other by the united ties of political and religious principles, and of personal affection. In the year 1635 they procured from the earl of Warwick an assignment of part of a large tract of land in Connecticut, and sent over a deputy to begin a settlement in that country, and prepare a retreat for themselves and their friends. Here they caused a town to be built, to which in memory of their friendship they gave the name of Saybrookⁿ. Afterwards they relinquished their purpose of emigrating, and recognised the voice of their duty as calling them to defend the liberties of their native country. Lord Brooke fell an early victim in the cause of freedom in the March of the present year.

Lord Say, and Nathaniel Fiennes, his favourite son, were two of the original members of the committee of safety. By degrees, as the parties of the presbyterians and independents diverged from each other, they adhered to the independents. This made them many enemies. They were more

Attack of
Clement
Walker on
lord Say
and his son.

ⁿ Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. I, p. 64.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

explicit and decisive in the declaration of their sentiments than many others; and their abilities, particularly those of the son, rendered them formidable. There were equivocal circumstances, not in point of sincerity, but with respect to soldier-ship, in the surrender of Bristol by the son, which were eagerly laid hold of by those who wished ill both to the son and the father. Clement Walker, a hot-headed and violent member of the presbyterian faction, was proved to have said, that lord Say was "a base, beggarly lord, and that his sons were cowards, and he would bastinado them wherever he could find them". Lord Say and his son, confident of their own integrity and zeal for the public cause, instead of passing by this scurrility as unworthy of their notice, brought the matter before the house of lords, and caused the man to be sent to the Tower^p. This determined him to retaliate to the utmost of his power; and he exhibited formal articles of accusation before the house of commons respecting the surrender of Bristol.

Proceed-
ings at the
trial.

Nathaniel Fiennes had, as early as the fifth of August, made a large defence of himself in this affair in his place in parliament, and had pressed for a formal enquiry into the business^q. At length the wounded pride of the ex-governor, and

^o Journals of the Lords, Oct. 2.

^p Ibid. Oct. 7.

^q Cobbet, State Trials, Vol. IV, p. 253.

the resentment of Walker, brought the question to a more serious issue, than any other party made a shew to desire. A council of war was held at St. Albans on the fourteenth of December, Clement Walker, and the celebrated Prynne, being the prosecutors; and the trial lasted till the twenty-third. The pleadings against Fiennes were wholly conducted by Prynne. It is difficult to form a judgment of the exact merits of the case, since no witnesses appear to have been examined in court. The party accused demurred to this, and alleged "that no paper-deposition ought to be allowed in cases of life and death, but the witnesses should be all present, and testify *viva voce*; else the testimony ought not to be received^r:" but this objection was overruled. But what is worse, we do not possess even these paper-depositions; what is called the trial of Fiennes consisting merely of the charges, the answer of the defendant, and the reply of the prosecutor^s. Upon general grounds of reasoning however, it appears certain that Bristol, or at least the castle, might have held out somewhat longer;

^r Ibid. p. 214.

^s It ought to be observed, that very many of what are called the trials in this and similar compilations, are merely party pamphlets drawn up for the purposes of the moment by the prosecutor or the defendant, or some friend of the one or the other, and afterwards reprinted in these collections as if altogether authentic. The present is the *ex parte* narrative of Prynne.

CHAP.
VIII.

1643.

Fiennes is
condemn-
ed.

and pardon-
ed.

though it seems no less certain that the earl of Essex, the commander in chief, could not at that time have relieved it, as he afterwards relieved Gloucester. It would no doubt have been difficult, and of dangerous consequence, to acquit Fiennes, and so to countenance the delivering up of cities and castles to the enemy, without holding them out to the last extremity. Thus this highly gifted and virtuous man fell a victim to the spirit of party, and to his own generous and imprudent eagerness in challenging an investigation into his conduct. Most undoubtedly he ought not to have been a soldier. He was capitally convicted by the council of war, and soon after received his pardon from the commander in chief. He was unable however to encounter the disgrace that had fallen on him, and speedily retired to the continent. After a lapse of two years, he returned to his native country, and resumed his seat in the house of commons.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF IRELAND.—ADMINISTRATION OF STRAF-
FORD.—PROJECTS FOR BRINGING OVER AN
ARMY OF IRISH TO SUPPORT THE KING.—COM-
MISSIONS OF SIR PHELM O'NEILE AND OTHERS.
—INSURRECTION. — MASSACRE. — SPREAD OF
THE REBELLION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF IRE-
LAND.

IF the parliament were successful in procuring for themselves an auxiliary army from Scotland, it would be unjust to impute to the king any want of forecast and activity in the endeavour to increase his resources for carrying on the war, and for bringing it to the conclusion he desired. Beside the expectations he founded upon the friendly professions of foreign powers, he looked particularly with earnest and sanguine confidence to the hope of strengthening his forces from the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland. This was an idea that had offered itself to him in various forms from the earliest period of the contest.

CHAP.
IX.

Forecast
and activity
of the king.

The affairs of Ireland have not yet been mentioned, that, by drawing them together in a comprehensive view, the reader might the better com-

Ireland.

CHAP.
IX.

Forward-
ness of the
king to re-
sort to arms.

prehend the way in which transactions there operated upon what was going on in England.

The history of the commencement of the war between Charles and his parliament has been little understood, the royalist historians having treated this portion of the subject rather like a party-pleading in a court of justice, than a simple development of facts, and shewing themselves inclined to defend the morality of the king at the expence of his understanding. But Charles was by no means of so thoughtless and improvident a character, as he has often been represented to be. He bore at all times sufficiently in his mind the *ultima ratio regum*. One of his most rooted passions was the love of power, or what he called prerogative. He considered himself as born to be a monarch, and resolved, as far as in him lay, that the most precious jewels of his diadem should never be lost through his carelessness or indifference. He knew the advantage the executive magistrate possessed in having conferred on him the power of the sword, and was by no means disposed to be backward to appeal to it in support of his claims. Twice he had marched an army against the Scots, expecting in that way to settle his disputed rights. And from the commencement of the Long Parliament, he had not been so unreflecting, as not to consider that their claims might be greater than he might feel inclined to grant; and he had calculated in that case how

their incroachments might be most effectually frustrated. It was in this view that the army-petition had originated early in 1641, in which the petitioners desired that they might be permitted to “wait on the king to suppress the insolencies” that were going on in the capital ^a. In February 1642 the queen sailed for Holland for the express purpose of procuring arms and ammunition to be transported to this country; and, before she went, the king gave her his promise, that he would never make any peace, but by her interposition and mediation ^b. Under these circumstances it is idle to dispute, as so many writers from considerations of party have done, who began the war ^c.

^a See p. 167.

^b See p. 38.

^c Great surprise has been felt, that the king so easily yielded his assent to the act, declaring that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own concurrence. But it is not sufficiently considered that he never in his heart intended to admit their authority. He studied curious distinctions and niceties by which their acts might be proved to be invalid: but, more than all, he relied on the effects to be produced by forcible means. He contemplated bringing the army from the north to subdue their arrogance: he repaired with five hundred attendants to the doors of the house of commons to seize five of its members [that these members should have received an opportune notice, and have timely disappeared, did not enter into his calculation]. He could not for a moment comprehend how a simple body of gowned senators could sustain themselves against the armed followers of a king. He had no idea but of waiting his time, till he might disperse them with the greatest shew of justice and public approbation. He therefore made no account of any conces-

CHAP.
IX.State of
Ireland.

The policy of James with respect to Ireland had been, to send over numerous colonies from Great Britain, with the alleged purpose of reclaiming the wild inhabitants, and improving the neglected soil, so as to render that country a valuable appendage to the empire. This had for a series of years had the effect to give an appearance of peace and tranquillity to Ireland, which had been almost without example. But the real state of the people was not so favourable as it seemed. Beside all other prejudices, the natives of the island were Catholics, and the settlers Protestants, for the most part puritans and presbyterians; so that, for this and other reasons, it was hopeless to attempt to bring the two parties to a cordial understanding. This was made worse by a vexatious and incessant inquisition into the titles by which estates were held, in which no length of possession was admitted to constitute right, but any flaw that might be found in the original patent placed the property again at the disposal of the crown, and accordingly it was given anew to such persons as were most favoured at court^d.

sion to an assembly of men whose measures he regarded with unmingled disapprobation and hostility. He did not advert to the great advantage he gave them by passing this act, which imparted to them, in any state short of absolute violence and anarchy, a permanent legal authority.

^d Carte, *Life of Ormond*, Vol. I, p. 26, et seqq.

The stern and unconciliating administration of Strafford had lately aggravated all these evils.

CHAP.
IX.

Admini-
stration of
Strafford.

Such was the state of Ireland a short time previous to the commencement of the civil war. Strafford was the only able, we might almost say the only zealous minister, at that time in the service of the sovereign. At the beginning however he saw nothing the king had to contend with but the resistance of the Scots ; and he placed an entire reliance on the devotedness and cheerful cooperation of the English nation^e. All his efforts therefore were directed against the former. In Charles's first expedition against the Scots Strafford set apart a detachment of five hundred men from the Irish army to assist him^f. When the king resolved on a second expedition in the year following, it was determined to raise an entirely new army of eight thousand Irish Catholics to co-operate with the English forces in that object^g. Strafford was called over by Charles to assist him with his counsels in what was intended to be this vigorous enterprise, and quitted Ireland, as it proved for ever, on the fourth of April 1640^h. But, before his departure, he had taken effectual measures for raising the proposed Irish army,

1639.

1640.
He forms
an army of
Irish Ca-
tholics.

Comes to
England.

^e Strafford's Letters, Vol. II, p. 235, 297.

^f Ibid. Vol. II, p. 255, 261.

^g Ibid. p. 391, 396, 403.

^h Ibid. p. 403, 404.

CHA P.
IX.

1640.

which was placed during his absence under the care of the earl of Ormondⁱ, a young nobleman of high promise, who was at that time just thirty years of age. This force hovered in that part of Ireland which is nearest to the Scottish coast during the whole summer; but Charles, as we have seen, entered into an ignominious compromise with the insurgents; and this important levy was rendered useless.

But, though impotent to the purpose for which it was raised, this act, placing arms in the hands of so numerous a body of Catholics, and instructing them in military discipline, did not fail to draw after it momentous consequences. Strafford had governed Ireland with a powerful hand: but the characteristic of his administration was severity; and he left few or no friends in that country. Accordingly his removal was instantly attended with a reaction: the Irish parliament, that had been loud in his praises while he was among them, shewed little respect for him in absence. They reduced the subsidies which had been voted under his auspices^k; and, upon the meeting of the Long Parliament, sent over a committee to represent the grievances they had suffered under his government^l.

Irish parliament
declares
against
Strafford.

The force, which had been thus collected at Car-

ⁱ Carte, Vol. I, p. 99.

^k Ibid. p. 106.

^l Ibid. p. 107, 108.

rickfergus ready for a descent upon Scotland, being rendered useless for that end, it seemed alike the dictate of economy and policy that it should be immediately disbanded. But Charles looked with an eye of partiality to a military power which had been created at his bidding, and naturally enquired whether it might not yet be rendered subservient to his purposes. If he had no use for them in Scotland, it is very certain that he looked with an uneasy anticipation to the parliament which was now assembling in London, and, from the hour of its meeting, had entertained projects for its dispersion.* One of the most considerable points of evidence in the trial of Strafford, was a paper of minutes of the privy council of May 1640, from which it appeared that he had said, "Your majesty has an army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience^m." Accordingly this army became early an especial subject of jealousy to the Long Parliament, who repeatedly petitioned the king to dissolve it; while on the other hand it was one of the objects of the army plot, that the Irish forces should not be disbanded, until those of the Scots were disbanded alsoⁿ. At length the king signi-

CHAP.
IX.

1640.
Purpose
to which
Charles
proposes to
apply the
Irish army.

1641.
It is partly
disbanded.

^m Whitlocke, p. 43. The question, whether or no the words "this kingdom" meant England, might be admitted as special pleading, but can never be sustained in historical enquiry. The point is perfectly clear.

ⁿ Rushworth, Vol. VIII, p. 749.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

fied his consent to the prayer of the parliament on this head^o. The disbanding however proceeded at a very slow rate; and it was not till the following September that one half of the army was said to be dispersed, while the remainder continued in their quarters at Carrickfergus^p.

Clandestine measures of the king.

It was one of the fatal errors of Charles's system of policy, that he often employed different agents on the same subject, of whom the one had not only no concert with, but even no knowledge of the proceedings of, the other. This is feelingly lamented by Clarendon during his exile in Jersey, with respect to this very business. "I must tell you," says he, writing to sir Edward Nicholas, "I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appear to me so inexcusable to justice, piety and prudence. And I fear there is much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh, Mr. secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours, than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effects of God's anger towards us^q."

^o May 10. Ibid. p. 756. ^p Carte, p. 105, 132.

^q Clarendon, State-Papers, Vol. II, p. 337.

Charles, being driven from his first shifts and evasions as to the disbanding the Catholic army, entered into a negociation with the minister of the king of Spain for allowing four thousand, whether of the disbanded or remaining army, to be enlisted for the service of that prince in Flanders^r. But to this the parliament objected^s. They considered that these forces would lie scarcely less conveniently for the invasion of England in Flanders than they did now in Ireland, if the Spanish government should concur in that object, and that they would acquire there the advantage of additional discipline. Even if they were *bona fide* taken into the Spanish service, the parliament retained the old Protestant prejudice, that the Spanish service was a thing they ought not to countenance, or contribute in any way to strengthen. Soldiers thus yielded to the Spaniard would be employed against the Palatinate, or in some other mode, to oppress the cause of the reformed religion, or to crush the rising independence of Portugal. What they wished for was a simple disbanding, which should return the soldiers of Strafford once more to the cultivation of their fields^t.

At the same time that this discussion was going on in relation to Spain, it appears that Charles

CHAP.
IX.

1641.
Proposals
for trans-
porting
four thou-
sand Irish
into Flan-
ders.

Plan for
bringing an
Irish army

^r Journals, Aug. 6, 24.

^s Ibid. Aug. 28.

^t Sir Benjamin Rudyard's Speech, Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 381.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.
to act
against the
English
parliament.

was sending secret instructions to the earls of Ormond and Antrim, requiring that those eight thousand men raised by Strafford should be kept from disbanding, and that, if possible, twelve thousand more should be raised for the invasion of England. The answer, which the king received at York in his journey to Scotland, was, that these instructions came too late, as the army of Carrickfergus was now wholly dispersed. But this did not cool Charles's earnestness. He returned a pressing message, that these forces should be got together again, and more levied, that the Irish parliament, consisting for the most part of Catholics, should be prompted to declare for the king against the parliament of England, and the whole kingdom set in motion for his service, and that, if the lord-justices would not join in the work, their persons should be secured, together with all those that should oppose the undertaking."

Earl of
Antrim.

Antrim appears to have been a man of weak and restless character, and by no means to be relied on. But Charles was not very nice in the choice of his instruments, and does not appear to have possessed the discrimination which should have guided him in that choice. He had, as has been stated, had one able minister. He had already

" See Antrim's Information, in Appendix to Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion,

obtruded Antrim upon Strafford ^w; and, subsequently to this period, he wrote to Ormond, pressing him that he “would unite in a strict and entire correspondence with Antrim, and contribute all in his power to further him in the services he had undertaken ^x.”

CHAP.
IX.
1641.

Charles had now arrived at a desperate pass, and his journey to Scotland was meant as a last preliminary to the dispersing the parliament, and settling the nation under his single authority. He was prone, as has been said, to employ various and discordant instruments for accomplishing the same end. We are now come to the instance in which he most signally miscarried.

Dealings of
the king
with the
committee
of the Irish
parliament.

He had engaged himself in various consultations with certain members of the committee, which had been sent over to England by the Irish parliament for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of Strafford. The members of this committee were most of them Catholics, and were afterwards principal actors in the Irish rebellion ^y. The general body of the committee left London

He countenances the rebellion.

^w Letters, Vol. II, p. 322. I scarcely recollect a more vigorous piece of comic painting, than Strafford's account of a dialogue between him and the earl of Antrim: Letters, Vol. II, p. 300, and following. Indeed Strafford's Letters are throughout worth studying as models of clear and energetic composition.

^x March 12, 1644. Carte, Vol. II, Appendix, No. X.

^y Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 349. Their names are given in Temple, History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 12, and in Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 222.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

for Dublin about the time that Charles set out on his journey to Scotland. One of their members, lord Dillon of Costelo, attended the king to Edinburgh to receive his last instructions, and then proceeded for Ireland in the beginning of October². It was probably by the hands of this nobleman, that Charles transmitted to Ireland his commissions to sir Phelim O'Neile and others, which were speedily productive of such disastrous consequences.

Sir Phelim
O'Neile's
commis-
sion.

We have seen what were the instructions the king sent to the earl of Antrim, himself a Catholic, the object of them being to place the powers of government in the hands of the Irish parliament, the majority of which were Catholics, in opposition to the lord-justices and the small handful of Protestants, by whom they were at present exercised. The lord-justices themselves, Parsons and Borlase, were adherents of the puritan party. Charles was aware, that the great mass of the population of Ireland, and a large portion of her nobility and gentry, adhered to the ancient religion, and that, if he wished for an ample military aid to his designs from that country, it was from this quarter that it must be derived. Accordingly, in the commission from the crown, published by sir Phelim O'Neile by way of proclamation on the fourth of November 1641, the

² Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 349.

king throws himself entirely into the hands of the Catholics. He complains that the usurpations of the English parliament [Hazelrig's bill for regulating the militia had been already brought in, and it was proposed that the lords lieutenants of counties should be named with the approbation of parliament: Hume says, "The sovereign authority was now in reality transferred to the parliament."] had obliged him to withdraw himself from that country; and, being sensible that the storm which now involved England might extend to the kingdom of Ireland, he therefore gives full power to his Catholic subjects in that country, to assemble and consult together with all diligence, to use all politic ways to possess themselves, for the king's use and safety, of all forts, castles, and places of strength, except such as belonged to his loving subjects the Scots [whom he then thought himself on the point to bring over to his side], and to arrest and seize the goods, estates and persons of all the English Protestants within that kingdom. This commission is dated from Edinburgh, the first of October 1641, and is sealed with the great seal of Scotland ^a.

^a Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 400. A great deal of argument has been used, but, as it would seem, to little solid purpose, to prove this commission a forgery. The consequences of the Irish rebellion were so atrocious and sanguinary, that every friend to the memory of Charles has been anxious to repel the charge of his having had any concern in its origin. And so incessant has been

CHAP.
IX.164f.
Purposes of
the king.

But the use the Catholics of Ireland made of Charles's commission, was very different from that which the king intended. He knew that he wanted soldiers to fight his battles. He was well

the industry of the royalists on this head, from the hour of the Restoration of his son, that their labours have been crowned with a success altogether surprising. It has been pretended that sir Phelim O'Neile tore off the impression of the great seal from some grant or patent which fell into his hands, and artfully affixed it to his own document; and Carte in his great zeal affirms that the very patent from which the seal had been torn was found about an hundred years afterwards at Charlemont, with an indorsement stating the fact [Vol. I, p. 182.]; which assertion Leland, another royalist historian [Book V, chapter iii.], denies.

But how came O'Neile's commission to have the great seal of Scotland? It would certainly have been much easier to have found in Ireland a patent with the great seal of England, but almost impossible to find one with the Scottish seal. Supposing however the commission to be genuine, that circumstance is easily accounted for. Charles was in Scotland at the time of the date of the commission; and, which is more, the great seal of Scotland was not at that time in the keeping of a proper officer. Clarendon by mistake says, that sir Phelim O'Neile's commission bore the impression of the great seal of England. [History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 15, 16.] And it is not unworthy of notice how the matter stands in Rushworth. Rushworth had adhered to the commonwealth, and has been charged with partiality to that cause. But he died in 1690, and the greater part of his collections were not published till after his death. The volume which contains O'Neile's commission had plainly passed through a royalist hand. The copy of the commission is accompanied with an argument to refute its authenticity, and an extract from Ikon Basilike. It quotes also Clarendon's account of the forgery; but, in quoting the passage, it artfully omits, while speaking of the great seal,

aware that no nation made better soldiers than the Irish, and was convinced that in their savage state almost any number might be enlisted that he could desire. He relied on the hatred which

CHAP.
IX.
1641.

Clarendon's words, "an impression of the great seal of *England*." [Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 403.]

We should be sorry not to pay sufficient respect to the testimony of Ker, dean of Ardagh, which, if admitted, would decide the controversy in favour of Charles. He says, in a paper given under his hand and seal, February 28, 1631, at the request of the viscount Lanesborough, that he was present at the trial of sir Phelim O'Neile [under the Commonwealth, 1653, in Ireland], and that sir Phelim was then examined by the judges about a commission he had received from Charles Stuart, to which the prisoner answered that he had never had any such commission: one of the witnesses swore that sir Phelim had shewn him the commission: upon which O'Neile confessed that he had ordered one Michael Harrison to cut off the seal from a patent he had found at Charlemont, and affix it to his pretended delegation: Harrison then, being in court, acknowledged that this was true: afterwards, the judges said to the prisoner, If you can produce material proof that you had such a commission, you shall be restored to life and liberty; to which the prisoner answered he could prove no such thing. The dean goes on to declare, that he witnessed at some distance the execution of sir Phelim, where a similar offer was made to him with the same success. [Nalson, Vol. II, p. 528.] Those who know how lightly oaths and attestations were treated in the reign of Charles the Second, and what a trade was driven of this sort of evidences in favour of the court and against it, will easily appreciate the discovery of the dean of Ardagh, made thirty years after the event, and twenty from the Restoration, at its true value. Perinchief, the pensioned biographer of Charles I, says, that the seal "was taken from an obsolete patent out of Farnham Abbey, by one Plunket, in the presence of many of their lords and priests,

CHAP.

IX.

1641.

the Catholic bore to the puritan party. He conceived therefore that in a body of twenty or forty thousand Irish he should acquire a machine perfectly adapted and tractable to his purposes. All

as was afterwards attested by the confession of many." But in either case how came the impression to be that of the great seal of Scotland?

There is a further evidence of considerable value on the subject, to be found in Morrice's *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, prefixed to the collection of the Orrery State Letters. Sir William St. Leger, lord president of Munster in the beginning of the Irish rebellion, says this writer, "hearing that the lord Muskerry was marching with an army of three thousand men towards Limerick, thought good to oppose him with the best forces he could summon together, which amounted to no more than one thousand five hundred or thereabouts, most of them raw and unexperienced men. Muskerry appeared, and drew up his men in battalia, which St. Leger perceiving, prepared for a battle; for he was a man of great valour, conduct and loyalty. But, while he was ordering his men for the battle, there came a trumpet from Muskerry, with one Walsh, a lawyer. St. Leger sent out to know the meaning of the trumpet's coming, who declared he came to speak with the lord president about a business of very great consequence to the kingdom. St. Leger gave immediate notice to the trumpet, and to the person who was with him, that they might approach. As soon as they came near enough to be heard, Walsh told the lord president he must speak with him alone. The president and the other noblemen, seeing Walsh, and knowing him, began by expressing great wonder, that a person of his parts and education should be guilty of such madness, as to join with rebels. But Walsh replied, they were no rebels, as he would soon convince them, if he might speak with the lord president in private. This was at length admitted, and he then told that lord, that his lordship ought to take heed of fighting against them, for lord Muskerry had a commis-

his subsequent conduct proves this; nor was he ever wholly undeceived on the subject.

But the Irish Catholics were of a very different frame of mind from what Charles looked for.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.
Disposi-
tions of the
Irish.

sion from the king for what he did, and by virtue of that commission had raised men to assist the king in all extremities, and that, if he might have a safe conduct, he would bring the commission to him under the great seal, and shew it to him at his house the next morning.

“The lord president was mightily surprised at this message, and, having assured Walsh that he should have a safe conduct if he brought the commission, dismissed him. The other lords much doubted of the return of Walsh, but thought the message to be rather a blind to amuse them, while Muskerry should continue his march. They agreed however to wait. They desired the lord president diligently to peruse the commission, if any were brought, as it must certainly be a cheat. The next morning Walsh appeared with a trumpet, and was immediately conducted to the lord president’s house. This being done, Walsh produced a large parchment, wherein was a very formal commission, for the lord Muskerry to raise four thousand men, and the broad seal affixed to it. St. Leger, having read it over, dismissed Walsh, and returned to the lords, declaring to them, that Muskerry had really a commission for what he did, and that he would dismiss his men, and stir no more in the business, saying that he would die before he would be a rebel. It seems the lord president took this matter so much to heart, that he never held up his head afterwards, but within a short time died, and lord Inchiquin was appointed president in his room.” The biographer adds, “Only lord Broghil [afterwards earl of Orrery] declared he could not but think it a cheat, as afterwards he found it.” But we are left wholly in the dark as to how lord Broghil made the discovery. •

Considerably to the same purpose is Borlase’s account of the death of sir William St. Leger [History of the Irish Rebellion,

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

They were deeply impressed with a sense of intolerable grievances. No government was ever worse conducted than the Irish, almost from the hour that the English set foot in the country. It

p. 88]. "Well understanding the difference then in England betwixt his majesty and the parliament, and what were the designs of some, putting fair glosses on the rebellion of Ireland, which his soul apprehended as one of the most detestable insurrections of the world: these things so troubled his spirit, that, being discouraged in the desperate undertakings necessity and the honour of his nation put him daily upon, so deep an impression was fixed in his mind, as, the distemper of his body increasing, he wasted away, and died at his house at Downrallie, four miles from Cork, 1612."

It is not a little memorable, that sir John Temple, in his History of the Irish Rebellion, printed in 1646, passes over sir Phelim's commission in total silence. If he had believed it to be a forgery, he, who praises "the tender hand, and the great indulgence of king Charles, our sovereign that now reigneth, to his subjects of Ireland," p. 12, 13, would hardly have failed to declare it to be such. As it is, he proceeds in his narrative as if he had never heard of it, which is impossible. It was not a tale, for a public officer, who had received his appointment from the king, to name respecting a monarch who might be restored.

Finally, the question must after all be asked, How came it that the Irish rebellion broke out, after forty years' peace, in the October that immediately preceded the January in which the king demanded the five members, and the February in which the queen embarked for the continent, to procure, by the sale of her jewels, arms and ammunition to maintain the war against the parliament?

The insurgents, particularly in Ulster, appear very early to have laid aside the king's commission, partly because their objects were very different from his, and partly because they judged themselves sufficiently powerful to stand alone.

was a half-civilised nation undertaking to domineer over a people of savages. And yet neither were the Irish altogether savages. They had a tradition of ages of refinement and learning, which had existed in their island. They were proud and generous. They were easily susceptible of being led by governors and lords, whose instrument should be kindness, and who would adapt themselves to their prejudices; but they would not be driven like cattle. Whoever should skilfully seek to obtain their attachment and love would be sure of success. But they could not endure the yoke of a master, who should assume to buy and sell them without in the smallest degree consulting their inclinations. They were as ferocious and unmitigable in their resentments, as they were warm and affectionate in their fidelity.

CHAP.
IX.
1641.

In addition to all other considerations in the present case, came in that of religion. The English despised the Irish too much to endeavour to convert them; and the Irish detested Protestantism the more because it was the religion of the oppressor. The fierce and unlettered Irish entertained Popery in its grossest and its rudest form, not softened and refined, as it was in some countries on the continent, by the gradual progress of knowledge and civilisation. They were entirely under the direction of their priests, and the minds of these priests were enflamed and ex-

Spirit of the
Irish Catholic religion.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

asperated by seeing all the revenues of the church engrossed by ecclesiastics of a hostile religion, while they were exposed to every privation, and had nothing to maintain the vital heat within them, but the fierce animosity with which they regarded the usurpers of their possessions. It is a terrible state of things when vast emoluments, originally destined for the support of devotion and morality in the great mass of a nation, are grasped by a handful of men, who are felt to have no principles or sentiments in common with the people among whom they dwell.

Projects of
the Irish.

It was of the Irish nation thus circumstanced, that Charles was rash enough to imagine that he could make a passive implement to reduce the inhabitants of the master-island to the despotism he loved. But they received the powers with which he invested them, with other thoughts than those which reigned in the mind of the prince by whom they were imparted. These powers directed them to raise and muster a military force, and to seize the strong places of the country into their own hands. They were then, as Charles supposed, to be transported in formidable and overwhelming bodies into England. But the Catholic leaders did not carry on their conceptions to this point. At all events they resolved first to make sure work at home. They determined at once to expel the English, and to make their country a Catholic country with a purely Catholic system

of property and administration, as the people were already Catholic. This would be a work that would require some time to place on a substantial basis, and upon that they purposed that their efforts for the present should be exclusively employed. When every Englishman should have been expelled from their island, they would then condescend to acknowledge the king of Great Britain for their king, and would perhaps consider whether, in return for his present bounty, they could serve him against a people of a different faith from their own.

CHAP.
IX.
1641.

Their plans were undoubtedly conceived with considerable energy and skill. The persons who wielded the powers of the English government in Ireland were weak and supine. They paid no attention to the various negotiations that were going on between Charles and the Catholics, and perhaps scarcely knew that they existed. They relied upon the security of a forty years' peace. Thus the Catholic leaders had every facility for carrying on their correspondence from one end of the island to the other, uninterrupted and without observation. It was determined that on one and the same day the Catholics should rise, and seize every place of strength into their hands. The Catholic army of eight thousand men that had been raised by Strafford, and was yet scarcely dispersed, afforded them considerable advantage. The additional recruits which had been mustered by

Their preparations.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

Antrim and others, were a further reinforcement to them. Many Irish officers, inured to military discipline, came, or were sent over to them, from the continent. Meanwhile their main strength consisted, in their abhorrence of an intruded and foreign faith, their deep sense of the many iniquitous vexations that had been practised upon them, and the inextinguishable love of national independence.

Informa-
tions receiv-
ed by the
Irish go-
vernment.

But the explosion of all these sentiments was terrible. It was concerted that the insurrection should break out on the same day in Dublin and in the north of Ireland, the conspirators likewise feeling confident that the seeds of rebellion were sufficiently sown in the west and the south. So early as March in the present year Charles had directed the secretary of state to write to the lord-justices to inform them, that "of late there had passed from Spain an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for Ireland and England, and some good old soldiers under the pretence of asking leave to raise men for the king of Spain^b." Sir William Cole wrote to them from the north of Ireland on the eleventh of October, to give them notice of the great resort made to sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Macguire by several suspected persons, fit instruments for mischief; also that

^b Clarendon, State Papers, Vol. II, p. 134. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 408.

Macguire had of late spent much time in journeys into Leinster, and in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad^c. But these advertisements do not seem to have gained much attention. On the twenty-second of October, the lord-justices received precise information from one of the accomplices, that every thing was prepared for the surprise of the castle of Dublin the next day; and this intelligence first roused them to apprehend some of the conspirators, to remove their own residence into the castle, and to make such preparations for defence as the urgency of the moment allowed^d. The castle contained ten thousand stand of arms^e. The conspirators had wholly relied upon the effect of surprise; and, even with this inadequate preparation their enterprise was defeated. Thus far their system was precisely coincident with that of Antrim.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

Dublin
preserved.

The commencement of the insurrection bore a very different aspect in the province of Ulster. Sir Phelim O'Neile began with the surprise of the castle of Charlemont, under the disguise of a visit of hospitality. This occurred on the same day on which the lord-justices had received information of the intended seizure of the castle of Dublin^f. The whole project was so well orga-

Insurrec-
tion in Uls-
ter.

^c Temple, Irish Rebellion, p. 17. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 408.

^d Temple, p. 18, 19, 20, 21.

^e Ibid. p. 26.

^f Carte, Vol. I, p. 172.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

O'Neile at
the head of
thirty thou-
sand men.Moderate
professions
of the in-
surgents.Expulsion
of the En-
glish in Ul-
ster.

nised, that, in the course of a week, the entire province of Ulster, together with the counties of Longford in Leinster, and Leitrim in Connaught, was in the hands of the insurgents, with the exception of a few strong places which were still preserved from their impetuosity. O'Neile found himself at the head of a body of thirty thousand men, whom he armed partly from Newry and other places which fell into his hands, the rest having scarcely any other weapons than religious zeal and the fervour of national independence^g.

The insurgents began with the language of moderation, even comparatively of humanity. They resolved to possess the strong places; they resolved to be lords of the soil. They considered the English as interlopers from whom they had sustained multiplied and protracted injuries: in conformity with the royal commission, they professed to look with more amicable sentiments on the Scots. They were anxious, as far as possible, to shed no drop of blood^h.

But these sentiments of comparative forbearance were of short duration. The idea entertained by some of the most sober among them, was that they would act towards the English, as the

^g Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 410. Temple, p. 46. Carte, Vol. I, p. 175.

^h Relation of Lord Macguire, apud Borlase, Appendix, No. 2. Carte, p. 175.

Spaniards had behaved themselves towards the Moors, conduct them out of the territory, and forbid them on pain of death to returnⁱ. But this project implied a situation in the highest degree perilous and critical. They began with disarming the colonists, and leading them in herds out of the province. They determined at first ~~to suffer~~ them to carry with them such portable things of value as they might desire to remove. This produced the first disputes. The unlettered Irish were armed with offensive weapons, particularly clubs and skeins (daggers); the English were unable to resist. It was like the lion and the inferior animals. Whatever the king of beasts claimed, he obtained, and even punished those who had the presumption to murmur at his demands. Violence led on to violence. The priests in particular whetted the fury of their lay adherents, and goaded them to ferocity against the heretics. The Irish first stripped the victims of their valuables, and then of their clothes. They hurried them along like droves of cattle. If any were weaker or more infirm than the rest, they left them to perish by the road-side^k. The weather soon became uncommonly severe. It is one of the characteristics of bloodshed and cruelty, that the first step is viewed even by the perpetrator

Calamitous
situation of
the fugi-
tives.

ⁱ Borlase, p. 25. Temple, p. 83.

^k Temple, p. 84, 88. Borlase, p. 30. Carte, Vol. I, p. 175.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

Massacre.

with uncontrollable repugnance; but the first step leads to another and another, till the offender even revels in his own enormity.

Nakedness, such are the prejudices of artificial society, inspires a feeling of contempt. That we can treat as we please our unarmed victims, is in some minds a motive to inflict a cruelty and brutality that cannot be retaliated. All society is a sort of discipline that imposes chains upon the wanton impulses of many a wild and lawless spirit; and the Irish insurgents now sought vengeance for the long restraint of moral and juridical law they had suffered. It was delightful to such souls to say, Now I can do as I please; no one will forbid; nay, my companions, and even my spiritual guides, will applaud me. Women and children were often made the preferable victims of assassination; women and children were often employed as the assassins¹. The imagination refuses to unfold and contemplate scenes so diabolical. Some of the unfortunate English threw themselves on the mercy of those who had once been their guests and familiars. They had reason to repent their confidence^m. Some fled to defensible places. They were invited to surrender under the most specious promises; and no sooner were these promises relied on, than tortures and

¹ Ibid.

^m Temple, p. 40, 41. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 416.

murder were without distinction inflicted on those who had felt prompted to trust in them^a. Wherever the English obstinately defended themselves in their fortresses, they evinced their superiority; at Lisburne the Protestants boasted that the number they killed of the assailants amounted to three times the number of their garrison^b. These instances furnished a new stimulus to the ferocity of sir Phelim and his captains. They converted such an event into a signal, to assassinate prisoners whose lives had hitherto been spared, or to spread death and desolation every where among the surrounding villages. The detail of murder by the club and the dagger speedily became too tedious to satiate their thirst for destruction. Drowning appeared a more expeditious resource. At Portnadown one hundred and eighty persons were in one day goaded from a breach in the bridge into the stream, and shot at by the assailants as they rose to the surface^c. These executions were repeated again and again. The forced moderation which distinguished the Scots from the English was speedily laid aside. Forty thousand persons, and by some computations five times that number, are said to have perished in this undistinguishing massacre^d.

^a Temple, p. 40, 41. Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 416.

^b Leland, Book V, Chapter iii.

^c Temple, p. 134. Leland, *ubi supra*.

^d Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 199.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.
Sentiments
of the Ca-
tholics in
other parts.

What happened in Ulster did not serve to check the spirit of revolt in other parts of the kingdom. On the contrary it operated to render the Catholics desperate, and to convince them that they had now no other resource than at once to make a common cause of their religion and their independence. Those who had committed these ferocious excesses would never give way, and this is said to have been one of O'Neile's motives for exciting and encouraging them^r; and the Catholics whose residence was distant from the bloody scene, had better (thus they reasoned) unite with the perpetrators, and wade through blood and murder to the noblest ends.

Lord. and
gentlemen
of the Pale.

One of the most critical questions at this moment as to the state of Ireland, was relative to the lords and gentlemen of the Pale. This was the denomination that was given to the landholders of the counties round the metropolis, such as Dublin, Meath, Lowth, and Kildare^a. The proprietors in these counties were all of English descent. But the distribution of the soil was now of old standing; a great part of it in the hands of the descendants of the first English settlers. As far as that went, they might be expected to enlist themselves in the cause of government. In process of time however they had assimilated themselves in many respects to the pure Irish;

^r Carte, p. 176.

^a May, Book II, p. 11. Temple, p. 36.

and, more than all, they had continued stedfast to the ancient religion, a circumstance which had given them a common interest and feeling with the Irish.

CHAP.
IX.
1641.

It was a delicate point therefore for the governors of Ireland, to consider how they were to treat the lords and gentry of the Pale. They must avoid giving them groundless cause of offence; and they must not trust them too implicitly. It is a question not now entirely settled, how far the lords of the Pale were implicated in the original conspiracy, and how far they were driven into the hostile party by the ungracious treatment they experienced from the government. Shortly after the commencement of the rebellion, the lords of the Pale applied to the castle for arms, to be employed in their own defence, and to repel the incursions of the enemy. The government had recourse to the middle way of delivering arms to them in a slender and sparing degree^t; and these they soon after endeavoured to recal^u. The day for the reassembling of the parliament had been fixed for the seventeenth of November; and the lord justices, fearing the promiscuous resort to the capital, which might be produced by the meeting of the parliament, and the keeping of the Michaelmas term, issued a proclamation to put off both

Treated by the government with irresolution, harshness and suspicion.

Irish parliament prorogued.

^t Temple, p. 60.

^u Ibid. Part II, p. 21.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.
Sits for two
days.

the one and the other to the beginning of the year^x. The lords of the Pale vehemently complained of the prorogation; and the governors at length receded so far from their determination, as to allow the parliament to sit for two days at the appointed time^y. The two houses accordingly issued a protestation against the rebels, and appointed certain members of their body to resort to the insurgents of Ulster, to enquire into the cause of their arming, and to offer them terms from the governors of Ireland^z.

Progress of
the insur-
gents.

While these things were going on at, and in the neighbourhood of Dublin, O'Neile found himself strong enough to detach a body of four thousand men against the Scottish settlements in the north of Ulster, at the same time that he advanced with the main body of his forces to the south^a. He reduced Dundalk, which had been the northern frontier of the English in the wars of Tyrone, in the beginning of November; from thence proceeded with the same success to Ardee, and afterwards threatened Drogheda, a place of the highest importance on the banks of the Boyne, about twenty-six miles from Dublin^a. Encouraged by the success of the northern insurgents, and feel-

^x Ibid. p. 4. Borlase, p. 32, 33.

^y Temple, Part II, p. 6. Borlase, *ubi supra*.

^z Temple, Part II, p. 7, 8.

^a Temple, p. 44, 45.

ing their cause to be the cause of the main population of Ireland, the inhabitants of Wicklow rose in arms on the twelfth, and those of Wexford, Carlow, and several counties in Connaught, immediately after ^b. Towards the end of November the lord justices detached a body of six hundred foot and a troop of horse to reinforce the garrison of Drogheda ^c. But the rebels fell upon them by surprise on their march, at Julian's Town, discomfited them almost without a contest, and nearly cut them to pieces ^d. This miscarriage at so critical a moment had the most important effects; and it was doubted whether the insurgents, leaving Drogheda in their rear, would not immediately push on for the capital ^e.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

The extraordinary success of O'Neile, and the spread of the rebellion on every side, produced a decisive effect upon the lords of the Pale. The English at Dublin had remained almost wholly on the defensive. The contagion of the Catholic cause became hourly more general and extensive. This seemed to be the moment to dislodge the English from their strong hold in the metropolis. The land-owners of the Pale felt their hearts beat high for the success of their brethren, heirs to the soil of the island, and partakers with them of the same religious creed. They requested a meeting

Defection
of the lords
of the Pale.

^b Ibid. p. 60, 61.

^c Temple, Part II, p. 15.

^d Ibid. p. 16. Borlase, p. 37.

^e Temple, Part II, p. 18.

CHAP.
IX.

1641.

of the pro-
vince of
Munster.

with the leaders of the insurrection, and demanded of them an explanation of the objects they had in view. This explanation led to an entire agreement and confederacy^f.

Munster as yet had remainèd for the most part tranquil. But the Catholics of the south could no longer resist the sentiment which pervaded the general population of every other part of the island. They embraced the same cause, and proceeded with the same steps; only that, though their conduct was attended with some acts of atrocity, it was by no means so flagitious, desolating and execrable, as that of the first movers of the insurrection. The defection in Munster occurred in the middle of December^g.

^f Ibid. p. 19, 20.^g Ibid. p. 35, 36.

CHAPTER X.

PROCEEDINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE IRISH REBELLION.—KING PROPOSES TO TAKE THE COMMAND IN IRELAND.—CATHOLIC SUPREME GOVERNMENT AT KILKENNY.—NEGOCIATIONS OF ANTRIM AND MONTROSE.—CESSATION OF ARMS IN IRELAND.—CHARLES OBTAINS REINFORCEMENTS FROM THAT COUNTRY.

THE earliest information transmitted to the government at home, of the state of affairs in Ireland, was contained in a letter from lord Chichester to the king, dated Belfast, October 24, which reached its destination on the twenty-eighth ^a. In this letter it was stated, that certain Irish septs, of good quality, and of the Romish persuasion, had risen, and taken by force Charlemont, Dunganon, Tonrages, and Newry, towns of good consequence, and were advancing against Belfast ^b.

CHAP.
X.

1641.
Intelligence
transmitted
to Scotland

^a Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 407.

^b Brodie, from the Scottish Acts, and Balfour's Diurnal; Vol. III, p. 216. See also Laing, Vol. III, p. 207.

CHAP.

X.

1641.

Charles the same day came down to the Scottish parliament, and caused the letter to be read in that assembly. He then stated, that, if, as he trusted, this should prove a small matter, he should have no occasion to apply to the Scottish nation for assistance to repel the insurgents, but that, if it turned out otherwise, he relied upon their prompt and effectual support^c. He added, that he was satisfied that the malcontent Irish could expect no aid from foreign states^c, and that he had already dispatched proper persons to learn the certainty of these commotions: he had at the same time forwarded the information he had received to the parliament of England^d.

Proceed-
ings on the
subject.

The Scottish parliament immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, and to make a report in two hours^d. Their report was adopted by the legislature, and imported, that, till the state of the business should be more fully known, no particular course could be adopted towards suppressing the insurrection, that, Ireland being a dependency of the crown and kingdom of England, the Scottish parliament would be cautious of prematurely interfering in the matter, but that, if their assistance were called for, they felt the utmost willingness to afford it, and that the Scottish troops in that case lay full as opportunely for action in Ireland as the troops of England. The

Ibid.

^d Rushworth, *ubi supra*.

next day a committee was appointed to enquire what boats and other vessels lay in readiness on the western coast of Scotland, and what number of men might by their means be transported to the disturbed country. The answer returned on the thirtieth was that there were sufficient for immediately conveying four or five thousand men^e. It was on the same day on which the subject of the Irish commotions was opened to the Scottish parliament, that the vote was adopted for recalling Hamilton and Argyle to the discharge of their parliamentary duties^f.

CHAP.
X.
1641.

In the beginning of November more precise accounts reached Scotland of the alarming and tremendous nature of the rebellion; and the parliament then came to a resolution to offer an aid of three thousand stand of arms, and an army of ten thousand men, for the relief of Ireland^g. A regiment of fifteen hundred men, that happened to remain undisbanded, was with the king's consent immediately dispatched to Ulster^h.

On the twenty-fifth of October the lord justices dispatched letters from Dublin, to the king at Edinburgh, and to Sidney earl of Leicester, then residing in London, who had been named to succeed Strafford as lord lieutenant, but who had never proceeded to the country which he was ap-

Intelligence reaches England.

^e Rushworth, and Brodie, *ubi supra*. ^f See above, p. 170.

^g Brodie. Laing.

^h Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 301.

CHAP. pointed to govern. The intelligence reached the
 X. metropolis on Sunday; and, the house of lords

1641.

Nov. 1.

~~Desced-~~
ings.

having previously adjourned to the afternoon of Monday, Leicester attended by all the privy counsellors then in town, came down to the house of commons in the morning, and communicated to them the dispatches he had receivedⁱ. The commons immediately voted a supply of fifty thousand pounds for the relief of Ireland, and, on the second day after, a levy of six thousand foot and two thousand horse to serve in that countryⁱ. Leave was the same day given to bring in a bill for pressing of soldiers for this service, and a commission was given out for raising volunteers^k. It was also recommended that the lord lieutenant should repair to his government with all convenient speed^l. Twenty thousand pounds were remitted without delay^m.

Letters
from the
king to the
parliament.

The letter which Charles by his secretary of state addressed to the house of lords in London, was not exactly in accord with the language he appears to have held to the parliament of Scotland. In it the king recommended to the two houses the care of these affairs, and professed to expect their advice respecting the course fittest to be pursued for reducing the kingdom of Irelandⁿ.

ⁱ Journals.

^l Journals, Nov. 1, 3.

ⁿ Journals of Lords, Nov. 1.

^k Journals, Nov. 3, 4.

^m May, Book II, p. 15.

CHAP.
X.
1641.

On the same day a letter was received on the subject from the king by the speaker of the house of commons. The former of these dispatches is stated to be of the date of the twenty-eighth, and the latter of the thirtieth of October^o. The letters are probably lost. Clarendon adds, that the king's dispatch purported, that he was satisfied that what had occurred was no rash insurrection, but a formed rebellion, which must be prosecuted by a sharp war, and that he committed the management of the war entirely to the care and wisdom of the two houses^p. We may perhaps be allowed to doubt whether Charles in this letter spoke in so unqualified terms of the Irish commotions as his apologist has thought proper to put down for him. It has been suggested, that his meaning in referring the prosecution of the war to the care of the parliament probably was, that he might involve that assembly in a business which should engross its attention, its troops, and resources^q.

On the eleventh of November the second dispatches of the lord justices arrived in London, announcing more fully the extent of the rebellion, and requiring an aid from England of ten thousand men, at the same time stating that as large a reinforcement from Scotland would be requisite. This communication seems to have made a deep im-

Further
proceed-
ings.

^o Journals.

^p Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 301.

^q Laing, Vol. III, p. 224.

^r Journals.

CHAP.

X.

1641.

pression on the house of commons. They voted the same day, that the six thousand men before agreed to be raised, should be made ten thousand, and that the assistance of ten thousand from the northern kingdom should be desired, under such restrictions as parliament might think fit to prescribe^a. The next day they determined to raise two hundred thousand pounds for this purpose and others connected with it^a. There was however a certain caution observed, and a delicacy that appeared necessary in the business, as far as the Scottish nation was concerned. It seemed incongruous, that Ireland should in a manner be thrown into the hands of the Scottish forces, while these forces should be paid, as was proposed, from the revenues of England. Beside which Ireland was construed to belong to England in sovereignty^t. It was therefore at first resolved, that the assistance of only one thousand Scots should for the present be desired^u; and afterwards it was determined that four thousand more should be demanded for the immediate expedition^x.

On the twenty-fifth the king arrived from Scotland in London; and on the second of December he came down to the house of lords, and in his

^a Ibid.

^t Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 407.

^u Journals of Commons, Nov. 5, 12.

^x Ibid. Nov. 13.

speech professed shortly to recal to the attention of parliament the business of Ireland ^y.

CHAP.
X.

1641.

On the tenth of December the first conference took place between a committee from the king and the two houses of parliament, and the commissioners sent up from Scotland to negotiate the transport of ten thousand soldiers of that nation to the north of Ireland. The deputies from the house of commons stated, that their powers extended only to the treating for five thousand men; in reply to which the Scottish commissioners said, that their instructions were to treat for the larger number, and that, if that were not accepted, they must write back to Scotland for further direction ^z. The difficulty thus started gave occasion to a singular manœuvre. The house of commons immediately voted new powers to treat for ten thousand Scots; and the king professed that, as soon as ten thousand were agreed on by the two houses of parliament, he would with great forwardness and satisfaction graht a commission for that number ^a. But the lords demurred. The house of commons had at first scrupled the allowing the Scots to become more powerful than the English in Ireland; but the urgency of the case put an end to their hesitation. The lords now took up the question, where the commons had left it. They desired to

CHAP.

X.

1641.

know what assurance the house of commons would give that, if the present going of ten thousand Scots were agreed to, ten thousand English should speedily follow. To this suggestion the commons answered, that it was not the practice of parliament for one house to capitulate with the other, and that, so long as the bill for pressing soldiers was delayed in the house of lords, they could give no engagement for the speedy sending away of the English succours^b. To understand this proceeding, we must recollect the superior influence which the king possessed in the upper house, which was scarcely put an end to by the secession of lords which took place a few months after on the approach of the civil war.

Charles
takes notice
of a bill de-
pending in
parliament.

Charles however did not entirely rely on the interposition of the lords to delay the forwarding of succours for Ireland. He had recourse on the fourteenth to a very extraordinary measure, which effectually interrupted for the present the progress of the business. This was no other than the coming down, and addressing a speech to both houses of parliament on the present posture of the affair. In this speech he vehemently complained of their slow progress in the business of Ireland, so contrary to his earnest desire. He added, that he might take up their time in expressing his detestation of rebellions in general, and

^b Ibid, Dec. 21.

of this in particular. [Charles could not help even on this occasion avowing his hatred to the genus, more than to the present example.] But he added, that deeds were more powerful than declarations; and, as there was a clause in the bill now depending before the house of lords for the pressing of soldiers, which infringed upon his ancient prerogative of raising men by his single authority, it was necessary for the saving of time that he should say, that if the bill were offered to him for his consent, he could not pass it, unless a reservation were inserted in it, that this act was not to be considered as determining the general question^c.

CHAP.
X.
1641.

Such an interference of the king with a business depending in parliament, immediately united both houses in resisting so dangerous a precedent. They presented a remonstrance to the throne, in which they represented what Charles had done as a violation of their ancient and undoubted rights, desired him, in time to come, not thus to break in on their privileges, and besought him to declare who were the persons by whose misinformation and evil counsel he had been induced to such a step, that they might be brought to condign punishment^d. [The pressing bill passed the house of lords on the eighth, and received

^c Journals of Lords.

^d Journals, Dec. 16.

CHAP the royal assent without alteration on the four-
 X. teenth of February following.]

1641.

The conduct of the king in this particular seems to have produced a feeling in the house of commons, the very opposite of that by which his proceeding had been dictated. The same day on which he had urged his objection to the pressing bill in its present form, they voted that two hundred thousand pounds more should be raised, being in the whole four hundred thousand pounds, for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and for other purposes connected with that question^e.

The lord justices and council wrote from Dublin in the close of the preceding month, giving great thanks to the parliament for their care in the speedy sending over provisions and money^f; and, when they found that the commons had voted to accept the ten thousand auxiliaries from Scotland, these beginnings filled them with sanguine hopes of an effectual relief. It was now generally believed in Ireland, that considerable forces would in a short time be transported for the defence of the northern parts of that kingdom; and this was regarded as a commencement that could not fail to lead to the happiest results^g.

On the twenty-third the house of commons,

^e Journals of Commons, Dec. 14.

^f Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 413.

^g Temple, Part II, p. 33.

sensible of the delays that were likely to attend the arrangement respecting the full number of the Scottish auxiliaries, determined to take two thousand five hundred of them, which were understood to be ready, into immediate pay^h. In the mean time they exerted themselves to send over the succours from England as fast as they could be prepared: sir Simon Harcourt's regiment of eleven hundred men was landed at Dublin on the last day of Decemberⁱ; and the earl of Leicester's, consisting of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horse, very shortly after. One of the officers in this last reinforcement was the celebrated Monk^k.

CHAP.
X.
1641.

On the twenty-ninth of December the king sent a message to the two houses, offering to raise ten thousand English volunteers for the service of Ireland^l, in place of the ten thousand men which it had been intended to raise by means of the pressing bill, that bill being at present at a stand. This offer was not accepted. If it had taken effect, its operation would have been to have drawn together a large body of military, officered by the king, and moving entirely under his direction.

Further interference
of the king.

A memorable circumstance that occurred at

^h Journals.

ⁱ Temple, Part II, p. 52.

^k Feb. 20. Carte, Vol. I, p. 282. Borlase, p. 52, states this reinforcement at five regiments.

^l Journals.

CHAP.
X.

1641.
King's pro-
clamation
against the
rebels:
forty copies
printed.

this time, was, that, it having been noticed that the king put forth no proclamation declaring the Irish insurgents to be rebels and traitors^m, a proclamation in due form was prepared four days after, but with this singular direction annexed, that no more than forty copies were to be printed, and even these were not to be published till the king's pleasure should be further signified respecting itⁿ. In excuse for this Charles afterwards alleged that the lord justices of Ireland had asked for only twenty copies, and that in signing more he had therefore gone beyond what was desired of him^o.

It may not be altogether foreign to the purpose, to compare the late period and thriftiness of this proclamation, with an anecdote related by Wood, strikingly illustrative of the king's feelings on the subject of Ireland. A manuscript copy was found, after the battle of Naseby, of sir Edward Walker's Discourses of the events of the civil war, in which, among several corrections in the king's own handwriting, it was observed that in one place where the writer had occasion to speak of these insurgents, and had stiled them "rebels," the king had drawn his pen through the word "rebels,"

^m Dec. 29. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 466.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 472, 473.

^o Answer to the Declaration and Remonstrance of May 19, 1642; apud Husbards, p. 247.

and had substituted the term "Irish" in its stead ^p. In reality Charles felt an unconquerable repugnance to the classing the Catholics of Ireland with the men who in England and Scotland had sought to curtail his prerogatives. The Catholics, however he might disapprove of much of their conduct, he still regarded as his friends ; he expected that they would furnish an army to support his claims in this country ; but the contraveners of his authority here he was unintermittedly anxious to put down by every means in his power.

CHAP.

X.

1641.

But the proceeding which most effectually interrupted the measures that were requisite for quelling the Irish rebellion, was the king's prosecution and demand of the five members, whose presence was supposed most indispensable to the guiding the counsels of the house of commons. This was in reality the commencement and first step of the civil war in England ; and Ireland of necessity from this time became a subordinate consideration with the parliament.

1642.
Demand of
the five
members.

The policy of the parliament of England, so far as it respects Ireland, is not entitled to much commendation. The main principle by which it was actuated, was an abhorrence of Popery. The ascendancy of the ancient religion in our own country, was of too recent a date to allow of its being regarded with indifference. Add to which,

Impolicy
and intolerance
of the
English
parliament.

^p Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. II, Fasti, p. 17. Sprigg, p. 45.

CHAP.
X.

1642

the enormities which had marked the commencement of the Irish rebellion, were well calculated to revive all the horror of that religion, which had had so wide a sway in the preceding century. Accordingly, one of the early votes of the house of commons in reference to the insurrection, was that they would never consent to a toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other part of the British dominions^q. The parliamentary leaders hated the Irish Catholics, as much as they feared them. They wished to exterminate the creed of that numerous sect. But, we may believe, they were not so ignorant as to suppose that that was an end easily to be consummated. They were at the same time aware, that a hasty pacification in Ireland, would tend to fill the ranks of Charles with soldiers from that country for the war that was approaching at home.

Severity of
their pro-
ceedings.

At an early period the house of commons had petitioned the king, that he would forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated lands in Ireland, which might accrue to the crown in consequence of the rebellion^r. And in February the two houses adopted certain resolutions, importing, that it was evident that many millions of acres in Ireland would become confiscate in consequence of the rebellion, and that two millions and a half of those acres, to be equally taken out of the four

^q Journals, Dec. 8, 1641. • ^r Dec. 1. Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 438.

provinces, would be sufficient to cover the advances which certain worthy and well disposed persons appeared willing to make for the purpose of reducing the rebels to their due obedience. They therefore proposed that this number of acres should be allotted to the adventurers who might come forward for so laudable a purpose^s. •The sum which the adventurers suggested to be raised by this expedient, was one million. This was what Charles called, “disposing of the bear’s skin, before the bear was dead^t.”

CHAP.
X.
1642.

The consequence of this measure however was, that for some time the forces in Ireland were competently supplied^u. The siege of Drogheda, which had been defended with great resolution during the winter, was raised in March; and Ardee and Dundalk, which had been taken by the northern insurgents in their progress towards Dublin, were recovered^x. The battle of Kilrush was gained by Ormond, lieutenant gene-

Supplies
and rein-
forcements
sent to Ire-
land.

^s Journals, Feb. 16, 18.

^t Journals of Commons, Dec. 2. This expression occurs in the report of the king’s fretful and ungracious interruptions, when he received the grand remonstrance and petition of the house of commons. It is sufficiently remarkable that the reporter appointed for the occasion was sir Ralph Hopton, who in the war that followed was perhaps the most gallant and effective soldier in the king’s army.

^u Borlase, p. 92.

^x Borlase, p. 66, 67. Carte, Vol. I, p. 285.

CHAP.
X.

1642.

ral of the English forces, in the following month ^y. The lords of the Pale at this time made certain overtures to the castle, which the government, influenced it is said by the anticipation of extensive confiscations, thought proper to resist ^z. Various reinforcements, both in men and money, arrived. Viscount Lisle and Algernon Sidney, sons of the lord lieutenant, now appeared in the field ^a. Monro and his Scottish forces to the amount of two thousand five hundred were stationed at Carrickfergus ^b. Supplies were conveyed to Connaught; and several regiments, and a considerable sum of money, were forwarded to St. Leger in Munster ^c.

Charles
proposes to
go to Ire-
land in per-
son.

As the period when the war actually broke out between the king and the parliament in England drew near, Charles shewed himself desirous, if it could be done with sufficient security, of passing over to Ireland, and dealing with the affairs of that country in person. The advantages to accrue to him from such a mode of proceeding were obvious. He would immediately have one army under his command; and, by the assistance of Ormond and other abettors he had there, he did not doubt to be able to mould them to his purpose,

^y Borlase, p. 74. Carte, p. 314.

^z Carte, Ormond Papers, No. 63, 64, 68. Life of Ormond, p. 291, et seqq. Borlase, p. 66.

^a Borlase, p. 77. Collins, Memoirs of the Sidneys, prefixed to the Sidney Papers, p. 148.

^b Carte, p. 309.

^c Borlase, p. 83.

whatever that purpose might be. Besides, being in Ireland, he would have infinite facilities for treating with the insurgents. He might conclude with them a cessation of arms; and this would enable him to bring over the greater part of the English army there, to fight his battles at home. But, more than this; he might conclude a peace with the Catholics. This was a thought which occupied a first place in his mind. Ireland had always been a copious nursery for soldiers. The Irish officers who had served abroad were highly esteemed; and he did not doubt, probably in many instances with the consent of the governments by which they were retained, of being able to call them home to his standard. This was the only clear and triumphant way that occurred to him, of speedily settling his differences with his discontented subjects in Great Britain.

The king had several times already suggested to the parliament his good inclinations to the undertaking in person the conduct of the war in Ireland^d. But on the eighth of April he sent an express message to the two houses, declaring his firm purpose with all convenient speed to go into Ireland, to chastise those wicked and detestable rebels, odious to God and all good men. He further assured the parliament, that he would earnestly pursue this design, not declining any hazard of

^d Husbands, p. 75, 86, 105.

CHAP.

X.

1642.

His purpose is opposed by the parliament.

his person in performing the duty which he owed to the defence of God's true religion, and that he would never consent to a toleration of the adherents of Popery in that country^d.—It should be remembered that Charles had departed from London, and been a wanderer through England, from the commencement of the present year. The message was dated from York.

The two houses, in answer to this communication, complained that the king had deserted the usual course of his predecessors, in that, instead of consulting his great council, the parliament, he had at once declared his resolution of passing into Ireland. They spoke of the prosperous success that had already attended the commencement of the campaign, which, they said, would be wholly interrupted, by the encouragement which the rebels would derive from the king's presence in that country. They therefore peremptorily refused their consent to any levy of soldiers to be made for that purpose, or to the payment of any army there, but such as should be employed under their direction: and they resolved, that whoever should attempt to raise such forces, should be held an enemy to the state, and be liable to the censure of parliament^e.

It may seem natural to ask, why, if Charles conceived it to be so much to his advantage to

^d Journals of the Lords, Apr. 11.

^e Journals, Apr. 14, 15.

pass into Ireland, did he allow his taking that step to depend upon the consent of parliament? The answer to this question is easy. It was under any circumstances a step that a prudent man might well hesitate to take. There was a memorable example in point, in the records of English history. Richard the Second repaired to Ireland to subdue the rebels of his time; and, when he came home, he found he had no England to govern. The period of which we now treat was in an extraordinary degree critical. Charles knew, we will say, that he first set the Irish Catholics in motion. His object in going would unquestionably be to tamper with that party. But the friends of the Catholic faith in England were exceedingly few. The puritans, and the genuine episcopalians of this kingdom, agreed in this, a horror of Popery. The story of the Gunpowder Treason was not old; the blood which had been shed in the Irish atrocities, was still streaming. How many friends would Charles have found, when he came back? What transactions and events might occur in his absence?

If he could have gone with the consent or connivance of the parliament, this for a time would have lulled suspicion, and palsied the exertions of his adversaries. But how would matters have stood, the parliament being even at the moment prepared to marshal and discipline their armies, the king absent, and, beside this, engaged in an

CHAP.

X.

1642.

affair which might for ever have destroyed his character for Protestantism, with all the sincere adherents of that faith? We shall see how deeply his prospects were injured, when eighteen months afterwards he sanctioned the Irish cessation.—No; there was scarcely any price Charles would not have paid to purchase an army of Irish auxiliaries; but even he could not consent to purchase help, at the risk of finding no formidable combination of men at home to cooperate with which the help was to be applied.

Successes
of the En-
glish in the
Irish cam-
paign.

The campaign in Ireland had by this time assumed in several respects a favourable aspect. The insurgents, though fervent to a degree of fury when the purpose was offence, had never been able to encounter the English in the field with success; and, though they had taken many towns unprepared, or had deprived their defenders of the will to resist by a shew of liberal conditions which were never observed, were altogether incompetent to the conduct of a regular siege. The appearance of Monro with his Scottish auxiliaries, added to the Protestant forces previously stationed in Ulster, produced so great a sensation, that the chieftains, who had been drawn thither from the continent in the hope of rendering their Catholic countrymen independent and prosperous, held a council in June, in which the idea appears to have been agitated, whether or not they should quit a scene, where the whole face of af-

fairs seemed to threaten them with a disastrous issue^f. CHAP.
X.

But these advantages were fugitive and transitory. As the contest in England became every day more imminent, it was impossible that the parliament should not look with more keenness to the preparations which were to decide the quarrel at home, than to such as might have for their object to restore the tranquillity of the neighbouring island; and they occasionally took advantage of the situation of affairs in that country, to proceed in arming themselves for the domestic contest. Mutual recriminations occurred upon this head. The king was accused of seizing and converting to his own use the clothing and supplies intended for the army in Ireland, of denying commissions to the armament intended to reinforce them, and of withdrawing the ships that were destined to intercept the aids the Catholics expected from the continent^g. And Charles on his part vehemently exclaimed against a vote of the house of commons of the thirtieth of July, requiring the treasurers appointed to receive the subscriptions of the adventurers for Ireland, to furnish one hundred thousand pounds from that fund,

1642.
Thwarted
by the pro-
ceedings of
king and
parliament
at home.

^f Carte, Vol. I, p. 311.

^g Rushworth, Vol. IV, p. 775. Journals of Lords, Sep. 16. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 35.

CHAP. by way of loan, to the committee for the safety
X. of England ^h.

1642.
Progress
towards
establishing
a Catholic
government
in Ireland.

All these circumstances produced a most important change as to the general aspect of the Catholic cause. Supplies from England for the support of the government originating from hence, were withheld ; and the sea was left free for the admission of such aid to the insurgents, whether in arms, ammunition, artillery, or veteran soldiers, as might be obtained from the continent. Exertions were therefore made to give an air of regularity and permanency to the Catholic government in that country. The excesses and enormities, which had characterised the commencement of the rebellion, were discountenanced ; the original leaders of the insurrection were neglected : the policy which now prevailed, aimed at placing the principal authority in hands unsullied with blood, and to set at their head persons of an elevated class and of unquestionable respectability ⁱ.

Synod of
Kilkenny.

May 10.

The first steps pursued for that purpose originated with the church. The Catholic archbishop of Armagh summoned a meeting of the clergy within his jurisdiction ; and this was followed by a general synod of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, held at Kilkenny ^k. It was here ordained, that

^h Rushworth, *ubi supra*.

ⁱ Leland, 'Book V, Chapter v.' Carte, Vol. I, p. 349.

^k Leland, *ubi supra*. Borlase, Appendix, No. VII.

there should be a provincial council, composed of clergy and laity, for each of the four provinces, and a general council, or legislature, for the government of the whole kingdom. It was also decreed, that ambassadors should be commissioned to the courts of France and Spain, as well as to the emperor and the pope. The general assembly sat at Kilkenny in October. It consisted of lords, prelates, and deputies from the several counties and principal towns of Ireland. They entitled themselves, "the lords spiritual and temporal, and the rest of the general assembly." They provided for the administration of justice. They ordained, that in each county there should be a county-council consisting of twelve persons, to whom were referred the duties of inferior magistracy and the cognisance of minor suits and offences, and in each province a provincial council, to receive all appeals, and act as judges of assize. Finally, they appointed a supreme council of the confederated Catholics, to consist of twenty-four persons, twelve always to be resident, to whom the entire executive power was to be confided¹. The supreme council was installed at Kilkenny on the fourteenth of November, somewhat more than a year from the breaking out of the insurrection.

CHAP.
X.
1642.

General assembly at Kilkenny.

Supreme council of Kilkenny.

It was of great importance to Charles, with a view to the negotiations he meditated, with the

Ormond appointed by the king

¹ Ibid. No. VIII.

CHAP.
X.

1642.
to com-
mand the
Protestant
forces in
Ireland.

Catholic body, that the Protestant government still subsisting at Dublin, should be placed in the hands of persons in whom he could confide. The individual who for many reasons appeared to him best fitted for his purpose, was Ormond. This nobleman, though himself a Protestant, had all his nearest kinsmen and allies among the adherents to the Catholic cause^m. He appears to have been engaged with Antrim, previously to the rebellion, in a scheme dictated by the king, for surprising the castle of Dublin, changing the government there, and organising a Catholic army to serve against the parliament in Englandⁿ. He was however a man of fair character and generally popular; and he had been greatly shocked at the enormities and cruelties committed by the Irish in the commencement of the rebellion. One of the first acts of the king, after receiving intelligence of the insurrection, was to send him a commission, constituting him lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland^o.

Earl of
Leicester.

The next point with the king, after that of throwing as much power as possible into the hands of Ormond, was to prevent the earl of Leicester, the lord lieutenant, from going over to that country. He had no connection with the Catholics, and no inclination to their cause; and was besides

^m Carte, Vol. I, p. 333.

ⁿ See above, p. 222.

^o Temple, Part II, p. 12. Carte, Ormond Papers, No. 31.

a man of too high a character at home, to be in any way fitted for an instrument in those plans which Charles had in contemplation. "It pleased the king therefore to defer the sending Leicester over into Ireland" in the beginning of the rebellion, "till such supplies were provided, as were necessary for the prosecuting the war^p." Early in the present year, Charles lent his authority to a difference which arose between Leicester and Ormond, by granting a warrant under his signet, empowering the latter, during the absence of the lord-lieutenant, to dispose of all appointments in the army of Ireland, as vacancies should occur^q. This was secret for a time: but, in the following autumn, the king publicly conferred on Ormond the title of marquis, together with a commission to hold the office of lieutenant-general, no longer in subordination to the lord-lieutenant, but by immediate authority from the sovereign^r.

In the mean time Leicester grew impatient of the situation of holding an office nominally, of which he was forbidden to exercise the power: and the seeming incroachments of Ormond increased his discontent. When Charles withdrew from the capital in January, he commanded Lei-

He is prevented in his journey to Ireland.

^p These are Leicester's words Collins, *Memoirs of the Sidneys*, prefixed to the *Sidney Letters*, p. 138.

^q May 11. Carte, *Ormond Papers*, No 82.

^r Carte, Vol. I, p. 334.

CHAP.

X.

1642.

cester to attend the parliament, to solicit the promised supplies for Ireland^s. These, in consequence of the approaching contest at home, were on various pretences delayed. At length he obtained an assurance of 55,000*l.*; and, being thus furnished, he repaired by command, to the king then at York, to receive his final instructions^t. This happened in July. His dismissal however was still delayed; and Charles carried him along in his suite from York to Nottingham. From hence Leicester wrote a letter, to be communicated to the parliament, representing the disagreeableness of his situation^u; and, shortly after, with the king's approbation followed his letter to London, that he might fully ascertain with what means he was to enter on the duties of his office^w. Finally, he repaired to Chester with the intention of passing into Ireland. But from hence he was again called away, suddenly and with much urgency, to attend the king now at Oxford, who kept him there during nearly the whole of the year 1643.

Alarms
conceived
by the par-
liament re-
specting
Charles's
dealings
with the
rebels.

Ireland was now become to the parliament a subordinate consideration. They were sensible that the Protestant ascendancy could not be restored there, while England was distracted with internal contentions and civil war. In one re-

^s Collins, *ubi supra*.

^t *Ibid*.

^u Sep. 9. *Vide Journals*, Sep. 16. ^w Collins, *ubi supra*.

spect however their anxieties concerning that country were in no wise diminished. They were aware of Charles's projects for increasing the army with which he fought against English liberty, by reinforcements to be obtained from Ireland; and they were anxiously bent to defeat his expectations in that quarter. He had placed the governing power on the part of the Protestant interest there in the hands of Ormond, a determined royalist, and who had been already engaged in negociation with the Catholics. Ormond was to be feared, as one well disposed to strengthen the arms of the king in this country, and as a convenient instrument on his part to form a treaty and alliance with the leaders of the insurrection. The committee of safety therefore sent over its emissaries to confirm the Protestants in the army of Ormond in their aversion to all conciliation with the insurgents, and to warn the puritans, who were a numerous party in that army, of the danger in which they stood that their principles and predilections would be betrayed by their commander*. Further than this, the parliament sent over in the autumn two of its members, Goodwin and Reynolds, as a committee to examine into the state of affairs there, and to co-operate with the puritan lord justices†. After four months' residence however, Ormond found himself strong

* Carte, Vol. I, p. 338.

† Journals of Commons, Sep. 7, 10, 29.

CHAP.
X.

1643.

Negocia-
tions of
the king
with the
Irish Ca-
tholics.

enough to send them back to England in the following February^z. This blow was followed up by the dismissal of Parsons, one of the lord justices, and substituting sir Henry Titchborne in his room, in April^a. And, shortly after, Parsons, sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and two other considerable officers of state, were committed to prison upon the allegation of certain crimes, which were no further prosecuted^b.

It has already been seen that the correspondence between the king and the Catholics of Ireland had subsisted from the very commencement of the rebellion. Lord Dillon of Costello had attended Charles into Scotland, and from thence passed over into Ireland in the beginning of October, 1641^c. He returned again to England, accompanied by lord Taaffe, another Catholic peer, his relation, furnished with a letter from the Catholics of Longford, and other instructions, in December. But their journey was intercepted at Ware, and they were themselves committed to the Tower by order of parliament^d. After four months' confinement they made their escape, and immediately resorted to the king, then at York^e. Other overtures from the confederated Catholics

^z Borlase, p. 104.

^a Ibid. 121.

^b Ibid. p. 123. Husbands, p. 341.

^c See above, p. 224.

^d Journals of Commons, Dec. 24. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 159, 160. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 349.

^e Clarendon, p. 160.

to the court passed through the hands of Cale, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and of the earl of Castlehaven ^f. CHAP.
X.
1643.

The transaction however did not assume a regular form, till, towards the close of the year 1642, a short petition was transmitted from the confederated Catholics at Kilkenny to the king, professing their duty and allegiance, and requesting that he would appoint certain persons to hear their propositions and offers ^g. This petition was further enforced by the recommendation of the earls of Ormond and Clanricard. On the eleventh of January 1643 a commission was issued to Ormond, conformably to the prayer of the petition; and in March lords Clanricard and Roscommon, with other commissioners from the king, met the deputies of the Catholics at Trim, for the purpose of opening a negociation between the hostile parties ^h. Lords Dillon and Taaffe were dispatched at this time by the confederates to the king at Oxford, and the latter of the two returned with all speed to Kilkenny before Whitsuntide ⁱ.

But another negociation of more immediate importance was going on at the same time from the north of Ireland. The scene of this negociation was Yorkshire; and the express occasion was the arrival of the queen in those parts, on her return

Negociations of Antrim and Montrose.

^f Borlase, p. 45, 114.

^g Borlase, p. 112.

^h Ibid. p. 114.

ⁱ Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 350.

CHAP
X.1643.
March.Projected
descent of
the Irish
Catholics
in Scotland.Adventures
of Antrim.

from her embassy and transactions in Holland. Two extraordinary men, both of them already mentioned, found themselves together at her court at York, the earl of Montrose, and the earl of Antrim^k. They resembled each other in the restlessness of their nature, and their turn for adventure and enterprise. They differed exceedingly in other particulars. Antrim was formed in the habits of a courtier: he was light and inconstant; for ever proposing and beginning undertakings of the greatest moment, but rarely conducting any one to a conclusion. Montrose also had been subject to change; but his changes were brought about by some powerful stimulus administered to the depth of his passions. He had the temper of the commander of a gang of pirates; remorseless in his revenge, familiar with cruelty, and not to be driven back from his enterprises by perils the most desperate. Between these men the idea was first conceived of a descent of the Irish Catholics upon the coasts of Scotland.

Antrim, as we have seen, had been engaged in a project with Ormond, dictated by the king, for overturning the government at Dublin, previously to the Irish insurrection. That project came to nothing. Antrim's own account of the matter was: "The fools, liking the business, would not

^k Baillie, Vol. I, p. 364. Husbands, p. 250.

expect our time or manner of ordering the work, but fell upon it without us¹." He therefore seems to have thought that he could not do better than go among the rebels in person. The greatest part of his estate lay in the province of Ulster; and accordingly he mixed with the first insurgents in the midst of whom his property lay^m. In the height of his career in their service, he was seized by the vigilant Monroⁿ, and sent a prisoner to Dublin, from whence he contrived to make his escape. Presently after, he passed over to Carlisle, and thence proceeded to York, where he met the queen, with Montrose, and several other Scottish conspirators^o. The plan here formed was, that Montrose and his coadjutors should rouse up the royalists in different parts of Scotland, while Antrim should negotiate at once with the Catholics of Ireland, and with Monro who had lately held him in durance. Monro, with his army of Scots, which had been augmented to ten thousand men^p, was to be bribed with profuse offers of money and rank, to make a descent upon England^q, while the old Catholic associates

April, 1642.

¹ Clarendon, *Irish Rebellion*, p. 375.

^m Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 608. *Life of Clarendon*, Vol. II, p. 129.

ⁿ Carte, Vol. I, p. 310. *Husbands*, p. 250, 264, 266.

^o Baillie, Vol. I, p. 364. *Husbands*, *ubi supra*.

^p Leven, the commander in chief, had come over to Ireland in the preceding August, but a short time after returned to Scotland.

^q Baillie, Vol. I, p. 365.

CHAP.
X.

1643.

of Antrim were to disembark in powerful numbers upon Scotland to co-operate with the royalists there^r. All this was projected, while the king yet pretended to be on good terms with the prevailing party north of the Tweed, and was actually proposing to them, that a third part of the general council of the empire should be filled with natives of North Britain, and that the northern counties of England should be united to the kingdom of Scotland^s. But matters were far from ripe for so mighty an undertaking; and the whole met with the fate most frequently attendant on such extravagant projects. Montrose and his co-adjutors experienced a cold and doubtful reception; and Antrim, in the very act of attempting to land in Ulster, fell into the hands of his old enemy Monro, who instead of listening to his insidious proposals, afforded him no other treatment than that which belongs to an escaped conspirator who is brought back to his prison. Upon the person of Antrim however were found a variety of documents which fully developed the dark and sanguinary plan the conspirators had formed^t.

Concurrence of Charles in these measures.

It is not to be believed, that these negotiations of the queen were carried on without the privity of Charles; and in that case we are presented

^r Ibid,

^s Burnet, *Memoirs of Hamilton*, p. 236. *Own Time*, Book I.

^t Baillie, Vol. I, p. 364, 365. *Husbands*, p. 250, 251.

with a proceeding of his, in some respects more aggravated than the commissions given to O'Neile and the original insurgents ; since, when the commissions were granted, we may fairly consider the king as unacquainted with the real dispositions of the parties. But now, that he had had too fatal proofs of their character, he shewed himself nevertheless willing to bring over the barbarous hordes so deeply embued in enormities and murder, that by their means he might curb the discontented spirits of the metropolitan isle.

CHAP.
X.
1643.

In the mean time negociations were incessantly going on between Ormond and the supreme council at Kilkenny, for a general cessation of hostilities in Ireland. The Catholics, who had been at first eager in expressing their duty and attachment to the king, now began to hesitate. Vague professions of loyalty had naturally suggested themselves, and had served to grace their manifestoes and declarations. But, when the question advanced towards a serious decision, they could not avoid considering whether by agreeing to a cessation they should not quit the vantage ground they now possessed, and might never recover. The Protestant strength in Ireland was daily declining. The king had no inclination to prosecute the war ; and in fact neither king nor parliament was in a situation to send such supplies as it might require. They might hope in no long time to drive the English usurpers out of the

Consulta-
tions at
Kilkenny.

CHAP.
X.

1643.

island, and make the country all their own. At the same time many of the confederates could not but feel somewhat ashamed at the idea of departing from all their professions of attachment to the sovereign, and asseverations that they had nothing to complain of but the intolerance and tyranny of the puritan dispensers of his authority. Add to which, it was plainly their interest to support the royal cause, as they would have every thing to fear, if the parliament should once reduce the king into subjection to their will ^u.

Cessation
of arms
agreed on
by Ormond
and the Ca-
tholic go-
vernment.

Much controversy arose respecting the terms to be assented to. The Catholics at first insisted on a free parliament: but this Ormond absolutely refused; as, in the state of the population of Ireland, it would have been little less than an absolute surrender of Dublin and all its dependencies into the hands of the enemy ^w. On the other hand Ormond demanded a supply, to be raised in the kingdom of Ireland for the maintenance of the king's forts and garrisons in that country ^x. The Irish in reply alleged that nothing could be more unreasonable that they should assess themselves to support troops, the very purpose of whose subsistence it was to be employed against themselves. At length, all difficulties were got over; the Irish receded from their demand of a free parliament to be immediately assembled, and agreed

^u Carte, Vol. I, p. 435.^w Ibid. p. 436.^x Ibid.

to grant an aid to the government, of thirty thousand pounds. A treaty of cessation for a year was signed at Sigginstown in the county of Kildare on the fifteenth of September ^y.

CHAP.
X.
1643.

Ormond had hitherto been the faithful instrument of Charles's politics in Ireland, and was now rewarded with the highest magistracy in that kingdom. To that end Leicester was discharged from the appointment he had hitherto held, in November; and the individual upon whose cooperation the king could most securely rely, shortly after succeeded to the office ^z. But a more considerable object upon which Charles was intent, was to obtain a reinforcement in his war against the parliament, from those troops which had been so admirably trained to encounter all the hardships of war, in their struggles against the Irish. He depended upon them as his principal recruit, to enable him to take the field in the ensuing campaign ^a. He therefore gave directions to Ormond accordingly. • Five regiments were shipped from Dublin, and five others from the province of Munster, about the month of November ^b. The former of these were ordered to rendezvous at Chester, and the latter to shape their course for

Ormond
made lord
lieutenant.

English
regiments
transported
from Ire-
land to as-
sist the
king.

^y Ibid. p. 450, 451.

^z Ibid. p. 476.

^a Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 456.

^b Birch, Inquiry concerning Glamorgan, p. 4. Clarendon, *ibid*.

CHAP.
X.

1643.

the port of Bristol. The devotion, we are told, and affection of most of the principal officers were cheerfully inclined to the assistance of Charles ; but the disposition of the private soldiers, if suffered to chuse their own destination, might tend as much to his particular disservice^c. The cause in which they had been formed to military habits, had been against the Catholics, against those blood-thirsty Irish, who had perpetrated a thousand cruelties and horrors upon the Protestants ; and it had been currently rumoured among them, that the king was but too much implicated with the Catholics. They were now called home, to fight for the abettor of Irish atrocities, against the liberties of their country, and the zealous supporters and confessors of the reformed religion. Such were the sentiments of the great mass of the forces imported from Ireland.

Their successful enterprises.

Lord Byron, the governor of Chester, was ordered to make suitable preparations for the reception of those regiments, which were destined to disembark in that quarter. They were accustomed to active service, and inured to hardships ; and this officer immediately led them against one strong place after another, in the county of Chester, with invariable success^d. They defeated an advanced post of the forces of sir William

^c Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 439. Borlase, p. 138. Whitlocke, p. 77.

^d Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 456. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 299, et seqq.

Brereton. They spread terror every where around them. At length the parliament found it necessary to order sir Thomas Fairfax, exhausted as he had been by the fatigues of a most active campaign, to march against these formidable invaders in the month of January. He found them encamped before Nantwich, the only place in the county which could resist their impetuosity. He attacked them with that gallantry and skill which distinguished all his operations. The battle was sharp, but of short duration. Both wings of lord Byron's forces gave way at once, and retreating towards Acton church, were there "caught as in a trap." Two hundred of the enemy were killed, with the loss of only fifty men on the side of the parliament; the rest threw down their arms. Five colonels, many other officers, fifteen hundred private soldiers, and one hundred and twenty women, "many of whom had long knives, with which they are said to have done mischief," were the prize of that day. Sandford, the most boastful and ferocious of the new comers, was among the slain. Monk was a prisoner^e. The generality of the privates, it is obvious to suppose, enlisted themselves in the parliamentary army.

CHAP.
X.

1644.
They are
defeated by
sir Thomas
Fairfax.

^e Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 302. Whitlocke, p. 75, 79, 82, observes, that several of the Irish rebels were with this body; and the circumstance of the women strongly corroborate^s this statement.

CHAP.

X.

1643.
Effects of
the cessa-
tion in En-
gland.

The cessation in Ireland, with its obvious motives, the desire of withdrawing the English forces from the war in that country to fight against the champions of liberty and patriotism at home, and which, no one doubted, was designed to be followed by a large reinforcement of Irish rebels to be engaged in the same field, had a strong effect upon men of all parties in England, and was much more disadvantageous to the royal cause, than all the assistance which could be drawn from that source would prove beneficial. Even lord Holland said, that, after he had heard of the cessation in Ireland, his conscience would not give him leave to stay any longer at Oxford^f. And sir Edward Deering, another deserter from the royal quarters, upon his examination alleged, that, seeing so many papists and Irish rebels in the king's army, and the king's counsels wholly governed by the Popish party, he could not allow himself to stay longer among them, but came to throw himself upon the mercy of the parliament, and to compound for his delinquency^g. Many of the earl of Newcastle's soldiers in the north, upon the news of the Irish cessation, threw down their arms, and demanded a composition^h. And Whitlocke himself remarks, that "it was observed, the Irish coming over hither, never did the king any considerable service, but were cut off, some

^f Whitlocke, p. 77.

^g Ibid. p. 81

^h Ibid. p. 77.

in one place, and some in another, the vengeance of God still following upon blood-thirsty menⁱ.”

CHAP.
X.

1643.
Royal pro-
testation.

There is one further incident that properly concludes the history of Irish affairs during the year 1643. In the month of July the king, being at Oxford, took occasion, when he was receiving the sacrament at Christ Church from the hands of archbishop Usher, to make the following protestation. It was at this time that he was earnestly engaged in pressing the cessation of arms for the kingdom of Ireland, the operation of which was to be twofold; first, to allow the Catholics for one year free and unmolested possession of all the advantages they had obtained by the rebellion, and secondly, to bring over, first the English Protestant forces, and secondly a powerful reinforcement of Irish Catholics, to fight the battles of the king against the English parliament. But what Charles principally desired at this time was a peace with the Catholics of Ireland, one proposed condition of which was the suspension, if not the total repeal, of the penal laws against their religion^k. The protestation ran thus:

“The king being to receive the sacrament, rising from his knees, and making a sign to the archbishop for a short pause, said: ‘My lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I now make. I have,

ⁱ Ibid. p. 83.

^k Carte, Vol. II; Appendix, No. 15.

CHAP.

X.

1643.

to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver: and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. - I bless God, that, in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate. And may this sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation ¹."

¹ King Charles's Works; Speeches, No. 50. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 346. Rapin conjectures, that by Popery Charles perhaps did not mean the Catholic religion.

CHAPTER XI.

PREPARATIONS OF THE SCOTS TO ASSIST THE FORCES OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.—ANTRIM AND MONTROSE AT OXFORD.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.—ANTI-PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD.—CHANGES INTRODUCED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE preparations of the Scots to co-operate with the forces of the English parliament, were of the most unequivocal nature. The covenant was voted in the convention at Edinburgh on the seventeenth of August; and the next day a proclamation was issued for all the subjects of that kingdom, between sixteen and sixty years of age, to hold themselves in readiness to appear in arms for the defence of the true Protestant reformed religion ^a. On the day following the particulars of the assistance desired by the two houses of parliament in England from their brethren of Scotland were delivered in to the convention by the English commissioners ^b. The treaty was finally concluded on the twenty-ninth of November;

CHAP.
XI.

1643.
Prepara-
tions in
Scotland.

Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 482.

^b Ibid. p. 485.

CHAP.
XI.

1643.

and the principal articles were, that Scotland should provide an army of eighteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, that the English parliament should pay thirty thousand pounds monthly towards the expence of this army, and that they should advance the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to enable it to commence its march^c. As it was well understood that the treaty in these terms would finally be concluded, great preparations were made for equipping and setting forth these forces, before all the formalities were gone through; and the earl of Leven, the principal Scottish commander in Ulster, was recalled to take the lead of the forces which were now to commence their march into England^d.

Conduct of
the duke of
Hamilton.

The marquis, or as he is hereafter stiled the duke of Hamilton, himself an artful and subtle politician, seems to have been overreached on this occasion. He saw the violent and uncontrollable character of the Scottish covenanters; and he deemed it vain to set himself in direct hostility to them. Nor indeed was his inclination altogether in opposition to theirs. He had a leaning, as has been said, to the presbyterian party, but with a strong personal attachment to the king. He was naturally an enemy to tem-

^c Ibid.

^d Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 439. Leven therefore must have passed a second time into Ireland.

pestuous counsels. He was formed by temper and by habit for the character of a courtier ; and he believed that by pliant and temporising measures he should be able ultimately to win over the rugged and half-civilised enthusiasts with whom he had to deal. He did not see how he could prevent the meeting of the Scottish convention ; and he advised the king to give way, to what it was perhaps impossible for him effectually to prohibit. He knew that there was still a strong party in Scotland attached to the royal authority ; and he believed that with their concurrence he should be able to outvote the more rigid reformers. He adopted another, and a more perilous course. He and some of his brother-royalists secretly stimulated the enthusiastical party to stickle for extreme conditions. They insisted on the covenant : the majority of the leaders in the English parliament were averse to presbytery. They insisted on a committee to be selected from the parliament of both kingdoms, to whom was to be intrusted the conduct of the war : it was imagined that the pride of the English nation would never subscribe to this stipulation. The friends of Hamilton were completely outwitted in all these points. Vane and his fellow commissioners with few variations subscribed to whatever was demanded of them ; and the conclusion of the treaty scarcely experienced the smallest impediment^e.

^e Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 382, 383.

CHAP.
XI.

1649.
Perplex-
ities to
which he
was expos-
ed.

It was a most perplexing situation in which Hamilton was placed. He loved his country, and sympathised with its reformers. He could not endure the thought, that they should again be exposed to that prelacy and liturgy which they so cordially detested. At the same time he could not forget, that he was the trusted minister of his sovereign, and that once on a trying occasion, when he was absurdly accused of meditating to assassinate the king, Charles had caused him to pass the whole night alone with him in his bed-chamber^f. He was distracted between contending duties. He could not betray his country, which had the strongest claims upon his assistance; he could not betray his king, whom, in addition to every inducement of loyalty, he regarded as his confidential friend. Above all, he deprecated the idea, that the Scottish nation should draw out its armies to assist Charles's English opponents: and even this, with all his efforts, he could not prevent; nay, by his too nicely balancing his duties, he had become obnoxious to the charge of having secretly abetted their invasion.

Antrim and
Montrose at
Oxford.

The invasion was an occurrence that incited Charles to the adoption of preventive measures; and the same persons were now present with him at Oxford, that in the spring had attended upon the queen at York. The king had long since fixed the object of his preferences, and determined his

choice as to the means by which it was to be obtained. He thought no measures were to be rejected, that would enable him to discomfit the parties who sought to abridge his prerogatives. He had sanctioned the project for inundating his native kingdom of Scotland with the hordes of undisciplined Irish Catholics, when as yet the Scots had entered into no hostile measures against him, and while he was courting their alliance with the most lavish and alluring offers of favour. He could not therefore hesitate at present in resuming schemes, which he had adopted when no such pressing occasion seemed to call for extremities.

Montrose had no sooner witnessed the proceedings of the Scottish convention, than he hastened to the south, and joined the king who was engaged in the siege of Gloucester^g. The siege was soon dissolved by the arrival of Essex and his army; and Charles, with Montrose in his train, shortly after returned to his winter-quarters at Oxford. In no long time Antrim, who had once more escaped out of the custody of Monro, also appeared there. Here each of them, in concert with the other, pressed their former project. They were both actuated with the most violent hatred to Argyle: Montrose, a young nobleman of the most aspiring ambition, because Argyle

Project of a
war in Scot-
land.

^g Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 459.

CHAP.
XI.

1643.

had then the chief government of Scotland ^g; and Antrim, because the Argyle family had, fifty years before, possessed themselves of a large territory in the south-west of Scotland, to which his family had pretensions ^h. Montrose believed that, if he could once shew himself in Scotland, he should collect about him vast numbers, who were friendly to the king, and adverse to the ruling party; but what he wished for was a small, but resolute body to support him in the outset. Two thousand men were as much as he required for that purpose. Antrim, who had perpetually vaunted how much he could do, but had never fulfilled any of his promises to Charles or his friends, was too happy to be once again trusted. He engaged to bring over this body of men from the Catholics of Ulster ⁱ. Charles paid his supporters in such coin as he possessed: he made Antrim a marquis in January ^k, and Montrose in the May following ^l.

Hamilton
comes to
Oxford.

While these things were in agitation, news was brought that the duke of Hamilton, having failed in all his undertakings to the king in Scotland, was hastening to Oxford, that he might explain his miscarriage, and clear himself from any as-

^g Ibid. p. 607.

^h Clarendon, Life, p. 129. Burnet, Own Time, Book I.

ⁱ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 608, 609. ^k Peerage of Ireland.

^l Collins, Peerage, art. Earl Graham.

persions that might be thrown on his conduct. Montrose feared Hamilton, who had been greatly a favourite with both Charles and his queen, and felt that he was no match for the duke within the element of a court. He therefore exerted his utmost rhetoric to convince the king, that Hamilton's failure was not owing to the weakness and irresolution of his character, but to absolute treachery, and added that he could not undertake for the success of any of his plans, if they were communicated to a man who was not to be trusted. Hamilton in fact was at all times the enemy of extreme and desperate measures, in which Montrose principally delighted. The latter therefore conjured Charles to be upon his guard against the insinuations of so dangerous a leader. He believed the king entertained no doubt of his own good faith and zealous cooperation; and he warned him not so much as to give a private hearing to one by whom the royal interests had been so signally betrayed^m. Charles listened to the representations of Montrose; and Hamilton, with his brother, the earl of Lanerick, secretary of state for Scotland, were taken into custody in December, as soon as they arrived in Oxfordⁿ. Lanerick escaped; and Hamilton was sent prisoner to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall, where he remained till the conclusion of the war.

CHAP.
XI.

1643.

Is thrown
into prison.

^m Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 459.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 461.

CHAP.
XI.

1643.
Character
of the earl
of Lane-
rick.

There was still some mystery that hung upon the conduct of Hamilton. If his good faith to the king was entire, the same can hardly be believed of his brother. Lanerick, availing himself of his office of secretary of state, affixed the royal signet to the proclamation of the eighteenth of Augvrst, calling upon all his countrymen to arm, preparatory to their invasion of England. Conscious, as he probably was, of the unfaithfulness of his proceeding, it seems strange that he should have become the companion of Hamilton in his journey from Edinburgh to Oxford. This must either be attributed to the unblushing craft of a courtier, who, while he covertly pursues his own course, imagines that no beholder will detect him in his windings; or to another cause, not less frequently operating, but less impressive in the narration, the weakness of the mind of man, and that, while he baffled and circumvented the observation of his brother, he could not resist that brother, when he said to him, Come with me, that we may together assert the honourableness of our proceedings, to our common master! Arrived at Oxford however, the heart of Lanerick failed him. He was soon after found in the parliament quarters; and, proceeding thence to Scotland, became for some time one of the most trusted agents of the predominant party°.

° Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 737, 738. Burnet, Memoirs of Hamil-

As he passed near London, he was taken into custody, probably with his own concurrence, and examined by the committee of safety, concerning the commissions sent out of Scotland into Ireland, he being secretary of state for Scotland, prior to the rebellion in that country^p. His examination would be a most valuable historical document: but the parliament did not think it right to heap disgrace on a man, who promised to devote himself for the future to their service^q; and they certainly judged the guilt of the king as to the

ton, p. 274. Yet it is curious to observe in what manner the character of Lanerick is subsequently described by Clarendon. "He was not inferior in wisdom and parts of understanding to the wisest man of that nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying and insinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage and sincerity in his nature, and (which was a rare virtue in the men of that time) was still the same man he pretended to be." Vol. III, p. 278.

He cannot flatter, he !

An honest mind, and plain. He must speak truth :

An they will take it, so; if not, he is plain.

This kind of knaves I know, which in this plainness

Harbour more-craft, and more corrupter ends,

Than twenty silly, ducking observants,

That stretch their duties nicely. SHAKESPEAR; *Lear*.

Hamilton, with his subtle loyalty and affection to his master, often appeared like a knave; while Lanerick, who stuck at nothing, was thought sincere, in the emphasis of his professions to the covenanters, and sincere again, when he recanted them all.

^p Journals of Commons, Feb. 1, 1644.

^q Journals of Lords, Jan. 22.

CHAP.
XI.

1643.

Death of
Pym.

commencement of the Irish rebellion, too thoroughly believed among their partisans, to want any additional proof.

One of the most considerable events in the close of the year 1643, was the death of Pym. Scarcely any man was more conspicuous than he in the beginning of the Long Parliament. "He was at that time," says Clarendon, "the most popular man that ever lived. He had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper, and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man^r." His reputation and the greatness of his influence caused various charges of foul dealing and corruption to be brought against him^s: but, when he died, he was found, notwithstanding his opportunities to enrich himself, and the simplicity of his living, not to have left enough to pay his debts. Ten thousand pounds therefore were voted by parliament for that purpose; and he was interred in Westminster Abbey at the public expence^t.

King consults how to
get rid of
the parliament.

But what occasioned the greatest anxiety to Charles's mind, was the question how by one master-stroke to get rid of the opposition of the parliament at Westminster. If this could be ef-

^r Vol. II, p. 462, 463.

^s Journals of Commons, Sep. 9 and 18.

^t Ibid. Dec. 11; Feb. 13, 1644.

fectcd in any way which by the general mind should be felt to be legal, he would have done as much, it might be more, to establish his ascendancy over every thing that was hostile to his views, than could be effected by twenty victories in the field of battle. He had been advised by some, that it would be excellent for this purpose, to publish a proclamation declaring the parliament dissolved. It was their opinion, that the act for the continuance of the parliament was void from the beginning, as it was not in the power of the king to bar himself from the power of dissolving it, which was an essential part of his sovereignty. Upon this point he consulted Hyde, then chancellor of the exchequer, who dissuaded him from the measure. He said, the king could not imagine that his forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster, would occasion one man the less to meet there ; and that, as it would confirm the assertions of the two houses as to his intentions (for, on the same principle that he denied the validity of that act, he might set aside all the other acts made in this parliament, some of which were very precious to the people of England), so it might bring them an accession of members, who, having severed themselves from them upon the guilt of their actions, might upon this point again return to them and be reconciled".

" Clarendon, Life, Vol. I, p. 86, 87.

CHAP.

XI.

1643.

Another expedient that was suggested, was for the king to issue a proclamation, summoning all those members of both houses of parliament, who had withdrawn, or been driven, from their seats at Westminster, to meet on a certain day at Oxford. It would then, it was said, become evident, that the people of England were subjugated, and the king kept out of his revenues, and exiled from his established seat of government, by a mere handful of those persons, who truly constituted the great council of the nation.

Charles, who had shewn himself favourable to the idea of a proclamation for dissolving the parliament^w, felt some reluctance to this latter expedient. He was apprehensive that, when these persons were assembled with the usual forms of a legislative assembly, they might adopt measures which he should regard as inadmissible, and particularly that they might press for the conclusion of a pacification between the contending parties, upon terms that he should by no means approve. It was answered to this objection, that it could not be supposed that two houses of parliament, composed exclusively of his own partisans, could do any thing troublesome or offensive to him ; and, even if they were so inclined, they must feel themselves under the closest constraint, as at any rate they would be but half a parliament, the re-

mainder sitting at Westminster, and the importance of those at Oxford singly depending on their entire concurrence with the sovereign. It was added that, as to peace, there could be no apprehension on that score, since, in any proposals made by the two houses at Oxford to the two houses at Westminster, the latter would only look to the quarter from which they emanated, and would reject the most reasonable, or even the most abject overtures, rather than recognise this rival authority. The result therefore would be, that the two houses at Oxford would resent the disdain with which they would be sure to be treated, and thus proposals, the most auspiciously begun, would only terminate in an increase of animosity between the parties^x. Charles was satisfied by these arguments ; and, on the twenty-second of December, appointed the twenty-second of January following for the meeting of the members of the two houses at Oxford ; at the same time offering a free pardon without exception to all such members of both houses as should without delay obey this summons^y.

One of the first objects attended to by the members of parliament assembled at Oxford, was to make certain overtures of peace to the adverse party. Accordingly, a few days after they had commenced their sitting, a letter was dispatched

CHA P.
XI.

1643.

Proclamation inviting the members of the two houses to assemble at Oxford.

1644.
Overtures of peace from the Oxford parliament.

Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 413, 414.

^x Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 559.

CHAP.

XI.

1644.

by them to the earl of Essex, signed by the prince of Wales, now nearly fourteen years of age, and the duke of York, aged ten, with forty-three lords, and one hundred and eighteen commoners^z. In this letter, after certain compliments to the character of the person to whom it was addressed, the writers speak of their having received such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense which possessed the royal heart in relation to the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate wish to redeem them from that deplorable condition by all ways possible, consistent with his honour, and the future safety of the kingdom, that it would be impious to question the sincerity of these demonstrations. They therefore desired the earl to represent the king's disposition on the subject, and their most sincere and earnest desire of peace, to those by whom he was trusted, that some persons might be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, for commencing a negotiation^a. Essex sent this letter to the two houses at Westminster.

Rejected.

It was apparent that no effect could arise from this overture. If the parliament allowed themselves to be treated or applied to in any other manner than as the parliament of England, they abandoned the ground on which their authority

^z Rushworth, Vol. 5, p. 566, 573.^a Ibid. p. 566.

rested. They could not negotiate effectually, if they had not a character recognised by law; and, if the negotiations were broken off, how were they to recover the ground upon which they had stood? The two houses therefore resolved to take no notice of this letter^b; and Essex returned an answer to the king's commander in chief by whom it was communicated, observing that it was wholly nugatory, inasmuch as it was not addressed to the two houses of parliament, for the maintenance of whose privileges he, and those who acted with him, were resolved to spill the last drop of their blood^c. A second attempt was made by a letter from the king's commander to Essex, desiring a safe-conduct to and from Westminster for two persons, to be sent by the king concerning a treaty of peace^d: but this also was refused. Lastly, a letter was addressed by Charles to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford^e. Thus ended this impotent overture.

The meeting of lords and commons which was held at Oxford, did not assume to call themselves a parliament, and therefore they were considerably crippled in their functions. But they would have failed in one of the objects for which they were

Money raised, and soldiers impressed, by authority of the anti-parliament.

^b Journals, Jan. 30.

^c Journals of Lords, Feb. 1.

^d Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 568.

^e Journals, March 6.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

called together, if they had not furnished the king with some facilities for raising money to defray the expences of the war. It was therefore appointed, that the members of the house of commons should bring in the names of all the gentlemen of estate, and other persons who were reputed, to be rich, in their several districts, and what sum of money each might be well able to supply the king with by way of loan in the present exigency. Letters were then written, subscribed by the speakers of the two houses, inviting the persons to whom they were addressed, to furnish the specified sums; and the king made a grant of certain forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for security to the lenders. By this means nearly one hundred thousand pounds were raised. The parliament at Westminster had laid an excise upon certain commodities according to an assigned tariff: the lords and commons at Oxford judged this to be a suitable pattern, and accordingly nominated commissioners of their own to superintend the collection of this tax^f. They also lent their authority to the impressing of men, and encouragement of volunteers, to fill the royal armies^g. On the sixteenth of April the king prorogued this anomalous assembly^g.

^f Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 452, 453.^g Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 601.

On the day on which Charles had appointed his lords and commons to meet at Oxford, the commons at Westminster ordered their house to be called over. There were two hundred and eighty members present, exclusively of one hundred more employed in the service of parliament in their several counties^h. On that day they expelled fifty-two members of their body, for non-attendance, and being in the king's quartersⁱ. The number of the lords who met on the same day was twenty-two^k. Eleven were for different reasons held to be excused^k.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.
Call of the
house by
the com-
mons at
Westmin-
ster.

A very important transaction which took place at the period at which we are now arrived, was the purification of the university of Cambridge. It has been seen that one of the great objects of the reformers of this period, was a change in the spirit of the national religion. They had conceived a deep moral aversion to the splendour and wealth of the established church, copied and perpetuated as it had been from the example of the church of Rome. They believed that the best and most exalted principles of the Christian religion could never be made habitually to pervade the great mass of the people, while the heads of the church and a large portion of the dignified clergy, lived in affluence and ease, and the means of luxury, and of an imposing show of pomp

Reforma-
tion of the
university
of Cam-
bridge.

^h Whitlocke, p. 80.

ⁱ Journals.

^k Journals.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

and indulgence, were placed in their hands. By a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, (such they esteemed it,) hardly at any time to be expected, and not likely to be repeated, a great portion of the people of England were at this time deeply impressed with the feelings of moral duty and of the beauty of that simplicity which the author of the Christian religion inculcated, and preferred that creed which operated in philanthropical sentiments and well-governed habits of conduct, to the ceremonies and ostentation that won so much the regard of their ancestors. It was the duty of those who took the lead in these momentous times, so to modify the forms of religion among us, and to establish such a character and disposition in the clergy, as might bid fairest to perpetuate all the good principles which were now in fashion.

It was apparent that the constitution of the universities, those great seats of education for the higher orders, and for the clergy, in particular, stood forward a most powerful obstacle to the purposes which in these respects the reformers had in view. It is characteristic of all establishments which have existed for any length of time, that they are strenuously in opposition to all innovation and change. If man were an animal exempt from gross follies and error, and if past ages were always as wise as those which come after, establishments could do nothing but good.

But, since it is one of the great attributes of our species to be susceptible of improvement, and capable of experiencing the most beneficial changes, for this reason what are vulgarly called venerable establishments will often range themselves in opposition to the best interests of the community.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

A long perpetuated establishment for education by the necessity of things is a praiser of the past. The old give lessons to the young; and these old, in colleges and universities, are shut out from any extensive observation, while successive generations within their walls are wholly confined to the repeating what they learned from the generation before. Thus the presidents and professors merely continue what the nurse began, and the instructions infused into the stripling are converted into shackles to restrain the years of maturity.

But, if this imperfection is incident to all establishments, it acted with particular force at the present time. The most influential men in our universities were not so obtuse of mind as not to see, that, if the prerogatives gradually and imperceptibly accumulated by the monarch were brought into contest with the increasing strength of mind of the community at large, their interests would be deeply involved in the struggle. The king of England in ordinary times held the power of the sword; but the church possessed exten-

Passive
obedience a
reigning
doctrine in
the English
universities.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

sively the means of persuasion, and of moulding the judgments of the community : an alliance between these two would therefore greatly tend to strengthen the hands of each ; and it was cultivated perhaps more actively at the present moment by the latter than by the former. Her leaders, particularly during the reigns of James and Charles, had shewn themselves ever ready to inculcate the sacredness of the royal character, and the unlimited obedience that was due to it from every Christian. They expatiated abundantly upon the enormous guilt of those who attempted in any way to check the royal prerogative, traced the origin of such attempts to infernal suggestion, and held up all that were concerned in them to the execration of true believers. Had it not been, that the hierarchy of the established church had at this time lost its hold upon a great part of the community, and particularly upon a large proportion of its most pious and exemplary characters, these weapons of their spiritual warfare might have proved altogether irresistible.

To remove the influence of doctrines, so pernicious to the political interests of mankind, as well as, in the eyes of the parliamentary leaders, so injurious to the moral sentiments and character of the community, it became absolutely necessary to purge the universities. Oxford was in the hands of the royal party, and was the present seat of the court ; but Cambridge was in that part

of the kingdom where the parliament possessed beyond question the military superiority.

CHAP.
XI.

The first instance in which the university of Cambridge forced itself into notice in the present contest, was when they attempted in August 1642 to send the university plate to the king, to be coined into money to enable him to carry on the war. Cromwel was one of the representatives for the town of Cambridge in this parliament, and he had just received a commission to raise a troop of horse against the king. One of his first exploits was an endeavour, to defeat the measure now adopted by the university. We are assured by the ecclesiastical writers, that Cromwel was outwitted in this, and baffled of his prize, by means of which his character as a subtle, active man was somewhat brought into question¹: but we find by the journals, that the house of commons voted him an indemnity for what he effected in this transaction^m. The truth probably is, that a great part of the plate was stopped; but that a portion of it reached its destination. Cromwel is said by the royalist writers to have conducted himself with some ruggedness on this occasionⁿ.

1644.
Plate of the
university
of Cam-
bridge
voted to be
sent to the
king.

Shortly after this, Cambridge was made a gar-

¹ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I, p. 109. *Life of Barwick*.

^m August 18, 1642. See further, *Journals*, June 10, 1643.

ⁿ Walker, Part II, p. 146.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.
Cambridge
made a gar-
rison for the
parliament.

garrison for the parliament, chiefly under the superintendence of Cromwel^o. That his soldiers were not debauched and licentious, is proved to us by the most indubitable testimony; but it must have been sufficiently vexatious in this seat of learning, that many of them were quartered upon the university; and we may be sure, from the detestation they had imbibed of idolatry and ceremonial observances, that they were unwelcome guests to many of the older members of that body. They frequently vented the fervour of their zeal in the demolishing of images and painted windows; and they expressed, in a way sufficiently unequivocal, their dislike of the habits and costume of the more elevated members of the establishment. Add to which, those of the Cambridge clergy, who felt themselves stimulated by their political partialities to give vent in an unseasonable and offensive manner to the lively interest they took in the royal cause, experienced more serious effects from the displeasure of the parliament and its adherents. Several of them were taken into custody, and were occasionally treated with that contumelious severity which is so apt to form one of the features of civil broils.

Founda-
tion and re-
venues of
the univer-
sity con-
firmed.

At length, in the beginning of the present year, the parliament set itself seriously to introduce

^o Life of Barwick. Walker, Part I, p. 109.

that change into the university of Cambridge, which the circumstances of the times demanded at their hands. As a first step, an order was issued by the two houses, declaring that, whereas doubts had been suggested, upon the ordinance for the sequestration of the estates of delinquents, whether the estates of the different bodies in that university came within the operation of the ordinance, the meaning of parliament was that these estates and revenues should be in no wise sequestrable, but that the sequestrations should fall merely upon the individual who had been pronounced delinquent, and that no longer than during the time that he would otherwise have received or enjoyed those revenues ^P.

CHAP.
XI.
1644.

Having thus recognised and declared the solidity of the fabric of the university, the parliament next proceeded to the consideration of the amendments they were desirous of introducing into its present condition. That every thing which regarded it might be conducted with as much mildness and urbanity as the nature of the case would bear, they placed the affair entirely under the direction of the earl of Manchester. He was a man of a gentle and generous nature, and a true lover of his country. His temper withal was so excellent, that the harshness of the contest now at issue, and the rough part he was called upon

Earl of
Manchester
appointed
to conduct
the reform.

^P Journals of Commons, Jan. 3; of Lords, Jan. 6.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

to act in it, had scarcely power to obscure the marks of his original disposition ; insomuch that he was never guilty of rudeness towards those against whom it was necessary for him to proceed ; and he performed all good offices towards his old friends of the court, and others, which the strictness of the times, and the nature of the employments in which he was engaged, would allow him to exert ^q. A fitter person could not be found for the office ; and accident seemed to point him out for the business, as he was local military commander, or, in the language of the times, serjeant major-general to the seven associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, Huntingdon, Hertford and Lincoln^r. An ordinance was therefore made, conferring on him an extensive authority. He was empowered to appoint committees, who were entitled to call before them all provosts, masters, fellows and students of the university, and to hear complaints against such as were scandalous in their lives, ill-affected to the parliament, fomenters of the present unnatural war, or who had deserted the ordinary places of their residence, and to examine witnesses in support of these complaints. The committees were to make their report to the serjeant major-general, who had power to eject such as he should judge unfit for their offices, and

^q Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 211.

^r Journals of Lords, Jan. 6.

to put in their places persons whom he should nominate, and who should be approved by the assembly of divines sitting at Westminster^a.

CHAP.
XI.
1644.

Manchester, being invested with these powers, arrived at Cambridge in the middle of February. Speedily after, he issued his warrants to the different colleges and halls in the university, forthwith to send to him their statutes, with the names of their members, and to certify to him who were present, and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance. Two days later, he sent to the officers of the different colleges, requiring them to appear before him on the tenth of March, to answer such enquiries as should be made by himself, or commissioners appointed by him^t.

His proceedings.

The thirteenth of March was the day destined for the first great alteration to be introduced into the discipline of the university. The number of the colleges was sixteen; and of these the heads of six were allowed, and gave their consent, to retain their former stations. Ten new heads of colleges were appointed; and these appear to have been selected with great propriety and judgment. Two of them were Benjamin Whichcote and Ralph Cudworth, men of unquestionable literary eminence, both of them, but particularly the latter, qualified to do honour to any seminary

Changes introduced.

^a Ibid. Jan. 22.

^t Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, Part I, p. 112.

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

for education in the world. Another was Thomas Young, the preceptor and friend of Milton. The remainder, though their names are not so familiar to our ears, were men of great learning, high respectability, and unblemished life ^u. A few days later, sixty-five fellows were ejected from the different colleges, and their places filled by others, nominated by Manchester, and approved by the assembly of divines ^w. The ordinance of parliament empowered the serjeant major-general, to dispose of a fifth part of all the estates or revenues he should sequester, for the benefit of the relatives of the persons ejected ^x.

Reflections.

Undoubtedly this revolution involved in its operation a considerable portion of calamity. But it seldom happens that any considerable reform is free from that blemish. The reformation of the preceding century, when the Popish religion was thrown down in this kingdom, and Protestantism erected in its room, was liable to the same objection. Many of the ejected clergy were deprived of their profession and their means of subsistence; and a multitude of monks, nuns and friars were turned out vagabonds through the land. It would be a senseless illiberality to doubt that there were among these many excellent and exemplary persons; and, if it were otherwise, destitution and

^u Neal, History of the Puritans, Book III, Chap. iii.

^w Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, Part I, p. 112.

^x Journals of Lords, Jan. 6.

starving are not the punishments that equity would award against those who offended. The thing to be desired in all cases is, that the present holder should not suffer by the change, and that the revenues should be appropriated to other purposes only as lives fell in in the ordinary course of mortality.

CHAP.
XI.
1644.

But reformation in certain cases seems to require, that the change which is contemplated should be executed at once. The revolution from Popery to Protestantism could scarcely have been effected by the tedious process of waiting for the decease of the present holders. Nor could the abolition of episcopacy in England, especially amidst the tumultuous and urgent scenes of a civil war, have been operated in that way.

Much of the calamity attendant on the reformation in the sixteenth century might have been avoided, if the business had been undertaken in a more moderate temper. Immense revenues were confiscated at that time, which never returned to the church. Out of these no doubt sufficient provision might have been made for those who suffered by the change. But this mode of proceeding had no affinity with the violent temper of Henry the Eighth. The rapaciousness of his own disposition, and the sordid mind of his courtiers, scarcely allowed that the smallest trifle should escape from their grasp.

There was not the same opportunity for a liberal

CHAP.
XI.

1644.

and generous procedure in the case we are here considering. The same living in the church, and the same stipend in the university, could not be appropriated entire to two parties, the person who was ejected from the situation, and the person nominated in his room. The revenues of the episcopal sees might have done something; but they were not adequate to all purposes. There must have been some sufferers; men who from opulence were reduced to a narrow income, and men, it is to be feared, who from a narrow income were reduced to want. The ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with considerable sobriety, and with much attention to the general welfare of the community; but there were still cases in abundance to excite our deepest sympathy, and to fill us with poignant regret.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1644.—

SCOTS ENTER ENGLAND.—SIEGE OF YORK.—

MARCHES OF THE KING.—FIGHT AT CROPR
REDY BRIDGE.—BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.—

RETREAT OF RUPERT.—NEWCASTLE GOES INTO
VOLUNTARY EXILE.—SURRENDER OF YORK.—

QUEEN RETIRES INTO FRANCE.

THE preparations for the campaign were on both sides such, as might be expected from parties who anticipated that the coming summer would decide on the pretensions of either. The parliament determined to form two armies of ten thousand men each, under Essex and Waller, for the midland counties, and the west^a. The king was not more than ten thousand strong at Oxford^b. But he had a force of fourteen thousand in the north under Newcastle^c. And both parties had numerous flying bands, and garrisons,

CHAP.
XII.

1644.
Prepara-
tions for the
campaign.

^a Whitlocke, p. 85. Journals of Commons, Feb. 1; of Lords, Mar. 25. Sir Edward Walker's Discourses, p. 12. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 653, 654.

^b Walker, p. 8.

^c Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 615.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

in various parts of the kingdom, from which reinforcements might be drawn as occasion should require. The parliament had the advantage of a certain portion of military genius rising up in their camps, particularly sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwel; while we may mention, as a specimen of the rest, that the king appointed Ruthven, a Scot, now created earl of Brentford, his commander in chief, of whom Clarendon says^d, "he was much decayed in his parts, which had never been vigorous, being now dozed with the custom of immoderate drinking. He was illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined, and very deaf; a man of few words, but who usually delivered that as his opinion which he foresaw would be grateful to the king." The parliament had a decided superiority over the royal party in the facilities of raising money; and they were perpetually improving their ascendancy in weight of character and popularity. The new feature of the campaign was the accession of foreign forces: the Scottish army of twenty-one thousand were excellent soldiers under experienced commanders; and the king considered Ireland as an inexhaustible hive of auxiliaries to his cause.

Operations
of Waller.

In the month of November Charles detached Hopton, with a force levied from Bristol and some neighbouring garrisons, to interrupt Waller in his

^d Vol. II, p. 481.

march for the west. Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester^e: and, this measure of precaution having been taken thus early, before Waller's preparations were completed, the king's forces were enabled to proceed further, and to take Arundel by surprise^f. Waller remained on the defensive till he was properly reinforced; but he no sooner found himself strong enough, than, marching by night from his headquarters at Farnham, he surprised, and took or destroyed, a regiment of the enemy at Alton; and, having done this, proceeded with great celerity to Arundel, which he brought to surrender on the sixth of January^g. Charles, hearing of these disasters, sent Brentford, his commander in chief, with a reinforcement to Hopton, and raised his numbers to an equality with those of the enemy; and towards the end of March both parties engaged in battle at Alresford, where the king's forces were totally defeated, and Waller, proceeding to Winchester, which had been their headquarters, and not being able to take the castle, gave up the city to be plundered by his soldiers^h.

The march of the Scots into England was con-

Scots enter
England.

^e Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 467, 468.

^f Ibid. p. 470.

^g Ibid. p. 473. Desmaizeaux, Life of Chillingworth, p. 314. Here the celebrated Chillingworth was taken prisoner, who, owing to the hardships of the season, and the severities of military vicissitude, died in a fortnight after.

^h Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 474. • Whitlocke, p. 85.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

sidered by the leading men among them as a sort of crusade for the purpose of settling pure Christianity, or in other words, according to their interpretation, the presbyterian system, in the southern division of the island. They therefore suffered no time to be lost from the execution of so holy a purpose. On the nineteenth of January, in the midst of the severities of winter, the earl of Leven crossed the Tweed at Berwick, which had some months before been garrisoned for the parliament¹. He was attended by Argyle and sir William Armine, under the denomination of the committee of both kingdoms marching with the Scots. This early proceeding was chiefly instigated by the hope of being able to surprise the town of Newcastle, before it could be put in a posture to resist. But in this the Scots were disappointed. The earl of Newcastle arrived at this fortress the day before it was summoned by Leven^k; and the Scots, leaving six regiments before the place, crossed the Tyne, and entered Sunderland on the fourth of March. The English army, to the number of fourteen thousand, hung upon their march^l.

Engage-
ment at
Selby.

Under these circumstances the parliament ordered the ever active sir Thomas Fairfax, with lord Fairfax, his father, to fall upon colonel Bel-lasis, whom Newcastle had left with three or four

¹ Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 606.

^k Ibid. p. 613.

^l Ibid. p. 615. Life of Newcastle, p. 42.

thousand men for the protection of Yorkshire^m. In this service they were eminently successful. The two parties encountered each other at Selby on the eleventh of April. Bellasis was entirely defeated in the action, himself and his ordnance were taken, and his entire forces made prisoners or dispersedⁿ.

CHAP.
XII.
1644.

The consequences of this victory were important. Newcastle, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, evacuated Durham, and fell back upon York, closely pursued by the Scots, who a few days later were joined by the Fairfaxes, where they formed in concert the siege of that city^o.

Siege of
York.

In the enumeration of the forces prepared by the parliament for the campaign of 1644 we have omitted the troops which were raised under Manchester, and his lieutenant general, Cromwel, for the associated counties in the eastern quarter of England. These amounted to fourteen thousand, which appear to have been ready to take the field in the preceding December^p. They were a favourite corps with the leaders of the parliament, and had experienced much of their encouragement. They had first been embodied in the autumn; and their exploits, particularly the battle of Horncastle, materially contributed to the giving a more favour-

Army
under
Manchester
and Crom-
wel

^m Rushworth, p. 616.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 618.

^o Life of Newcastle, p. 44. Rushworth, p. 620.

^p See the ordinance respecting them. Journals of the Lords, May 13, 1644.

CHAP.

XII.

1644.

assists in
the siege of
York.

able aspect to the close of the year. Those leading statesmen especially, who regarded Essex, the commander in chief, with a doubtful judgment and a secret dislike, looked to the forces here spoken of, as the object of their most cherished hopes^q.

The body under Manchester was now ordered by the parliament to proceed northward, and join the Scots and the Fairfaxes in the siege of York. It had grown into a custom for some members of the house of commons, generally two, to be deputed to accompany each of their armies, as a committee of parliament, to assist the military conductors with their advice, and to be the confidential medium of communication with the legislature respecting their wants and desires. In the present instance sir Henry Vane accompanied the army of Manchester^r.

Eminent
persons collected in
the camp of
Manchester.

It gives an additional quickness to our feelings in the midst of these warlike proceedings, to look into the camp of the parliamentarians, to draw back the canvass of their tents, and contemplate the soldier and the statesman, busied as they were in anticipating the future, in providing for all occasions, and endeavouring to place the mass of yet unformed events under the guidance of human prudence and intellect. In this camp, which was now traversing Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire,

^q Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 477.

^r Ibid. p. 478.

and proceeding to York, we might see among others Manchester, deficient neither in the qualities of a gentleman nor the valour of a soldier, the most well tempered and courteous of mankind, firm in purpose, yet ever gentle and conciliating in his manners; Cromwel, the future guide and oppressor of the commonwealth, daring every thing, and accomplishing whatever he dared to desire; and Vane, ever profound in thought, and sagacious in purpose, desiring the true advantage and happiness of all within the sphere of his influence, and embracing in his capacious mind all the elements of public safety and substantial improvement. These men, now so cordially united, were in no long time to be shaken asunder, each actuated with different sentiments, each pursuing an object which the other two regarded with fixed disapprobation.

CHAP.
XII.
1644,

The army of Manchester being joined to those of Leven and Fairfax, the leaguer of York was now complete*. Meanwhile the fate of this city appeared to Charles of the most vital importance to his concerns. If York were surrendered, and still more if the army of Newcastle were beaten and dispersed, there was nothing to hinder the English and Scots, now engaged in the north, from pouring down their forces upon Oxford, and the southern and western divisions of the island,

June 3.

* Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 622.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Rupert
undertakes
to raise the
siege.

June 14.

Measures
of Essex
and Waller.

and cooperating with the armies of Essex and Waller; in which case it was impossible for the royal interests to hope to make head against them. In this extremity Charles thought proper to have recourse to prince Rupert, who had been engaged during the spring of the year in some successful diversions in Cheshire and Lancashire. The original plan of the campaign had been, that, after Rupert had accomplished his purposes in these parts, he should join the king at Oxford, in which case they did not doubt with their united forces to make a brilliant figure in the centre of the kingdom, and perhaps to give a new turn to the aspect of the war^t. But all these plans were deranged, first by the success of the enemy at Selby, and still more by the serious appearance that the siege of York now assumed, in which city Newcastle wrote to the king that he could not hold out more than six weeks or two months without being relieved^u. Charles therefore wrote to Rupert in the most peremptory style, directing him, that, all other enterprises laid aside, he should immediately march to the relief of York, the siege of which being raised, and the besieging armies beaten, and not otherwise, there might be hope for the success of the royal cause^v.

Such was the situation of the armies in the north, while those of Essex and Waller were quar-

^t Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 476.

^u Ibid. p. 478.

^v Memoirs of Evelyn, Royal Correspondence, p. 87.

tered in the different districts of the counties lying between Oxford and London. Under these circumstances the military counsels of the parliament, which were now administered by the committee of both kingdoms, consisting of seven lords, fourteen commoners, and four deputies from Scotland^w, underwent some alteration. The march for the west was postponed for the present; and it was resolved that, if Charles posted his army in or near Oxford, the parliamentary generals should narrow his out-quarters, and then, each on his own side respectively, undertake the siege of the city. This plan was commenced under favourable auspices. The king of his own motion abandoned Reading, and the general withdrew the royal forces out of Abingdon without his consent or knowledge^x. Charles therefore was reduced to quarter his army to the north of Oxford; and, as Waller had actu-

^w The lords were, the earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick and Manchester, viscount Say, and the barons Wharton and Roberts; the commoners, Waller, Cromwel, Vane, and his father, the old sir Henry, St. John, Haselrig, sir Gilbert Gerard, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Armine, Glyn (recorder of London), Pierrepont, Samuel Browne, Wallop and Crewe; and the Scots deputies, the earl of Loudon, lord chancellor, lord Maitland, Johnston of Wariston, and Robert Barclay. It is obvious that a great number of the English commissioners were engaged in various scenes of active service; and it was therefore ordained that any six of them, provided it included one lord and two commoners, should be competent to transact with the Scots deputies residing in London. Journals of the Lords, Feb. 5 and 16.

^x Walker, p. 13, 14, 15. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 485.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Charles
marches
from
Oxford
towards the
north.

ally crossed the Isis, and Essex the Charwel, it seemed likely that the king's forces would soon be driven in, and that he would be reduced to confine himself within the walls of the city. Such was the disastrous situation of Charles in the beginning of June ^y.

Pressed in as he was on all sides, a project started itself, which was boldly conceived, and carried into execution with becoming spirit and alacrity. A body of foot with cannon was ordered out at the south entrance of the city, as if for Abingdon, for the purpose of drawing Waller's attention on that side; and then the king, with all the cavalry, and two thousand five hundred chosen foot, quitted Oxford in silence at the north gate as soon as night set in on the third of June, and, marching between the two armies of the enemy, arrived at Hanborough by day-break of the fourth, and in the afternoon halted for a short time at Burford ^z. Thus the king proceeded by quick marches to Worcester, and from Worcester to Bewdley ^a.

Waller pur-
sues the
king.

The measures of Charles, thus adopted and proceeded in, wholly disconcerted the plan lately formed for the conduct of the parliamentary armies. It was taken for granted that the king's march

^y Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 487, 488. Walker, p. 18, 19, 20.

^z Walker, p. 19, 20. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 488.

^a It was from Tickenhall near Bewdley, that Charles wrote to Rupert, ordering him to proceed immediately for York.

had for its object prince Rupert who was now at Liverpool; and Waller with his accustomed celerity, threw himself between Charles's army and Shrewsbury^b. In the mean time, Essex, who had the greater ordnance and the heavier carriages, felt it impossible to keep up with the quick marches of the king, and conceived Waller perfectly competent to this business. Essex therefore determined to set out for the affairs of the west, and left his colleague to watch over and harass the motions of Charles^c. The king, finding thus that his object in the separation of the two armies was attained, hastened back by as quick marches as he had advanced, and reached Oxford on the seventeenth day from that on which he had quitted it^d.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Charles re-
turns on his
steps.

From Oxford the king drew a reinforcement, and the artillery which it had not suited him in his late march to carry along with him^d; and, finding that Essex was now at a distance, and that Waller, as soon as he heard of the king's return, was marching in pursuit of him, Charles felt himself not indisposed to try the fortune of war with the army of the latter. In a few days the armies faced each other at Cropredy Bridge, Waller being on the west, and the king on the east side of the Charwel. The bridge was

Battle of
Cropredy
Bridge.

^b Walker, p. 24.

^c Walker, p. 21. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 489, 490.

^d Walker, p. 25. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 493.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

June 29.

Proposal
that the
king should
march
against
London.

guarded by a detachment of the king's troops; but Waller, discerning an interval, of which he thought advantage might be taken, between the body of Charles's army and the rear, forced the troops that guarded the bridge, that he might throw himself into the space he observed between these divisions of the king's forces. This manœuvre of the parliamentary general brought on a battle; and Charles's troops had the better in the action^c. Though the conflict was by no means of a decisive nature, Waller's forces were so far crippled, and his numbers, many of them being enlisted only for a limited service, so much reduced, that the king felt himself at liberty to follow Essex's army, which had marched for the west.

Many of Charles's followers were by this time exceedingly weary of the war. They had not engaged in it out of principle, and were for ever full of cabals and dissensions. Each man pursued his private ends; and, now that it became sufficiently visible that the struggle would draw out into length, and under the most favourable aspect be full of hardships and difficulties, it was secretly suggested among the officers of the army, that, at this period when the parliamentary generals were at a distance, the king should by all means be pressed to advance towards London, and throw himself upon the generosity of the city, and of

^c Walker, p. 31 et seqq. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 498.

those members of the two houses that were least alienated from him, observing that they did not doubt such an overture would be attended with the happiest consequences. Charles felt the utmost horror at the idea of such a proposal, and contrived to get rid of it in the best manner he could^f.

CHAP.
XII.
1644.

While the king was to a certain degree successful in the centre of the kingdom, his affairs looked with a much less favourable aspect in the north. The garrison of York was nearly reduced to the last extremity, while the approved discipline of the Scottish forces, and the gallantry and skill of the English leaders of the troops employed in the siege, seemed to promise them the utmost success. It was this view of the case, that led Charles to send those instructions to Rupert which have been already mentioned. The prince entered on the service that was recommended to him with the utmost alacrity; and, being joined by Newcastle's cavalry on the way, and having collected recruits from various quarters on his march, he approached York on the last day of June with a body of twenty thousand men^g. The allied leaders felt that it was in vain to press the siege under these circumstances, and, having drawn off their forces, ranged themselves in battle-array the day follow-

Siege of
York
raised.

^f Walker, p. 28. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 496.

^g Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 631.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

ing, on Marston Moor on the banks of the Ouse, five or six miles south-west of the city, expecting the prince to approach the object of contention on that side. But in this they were disappointed. He crossed the river a few miles nearer to its source, entered York with a small party of horse, and encamped the main body of his army on the eastern bank of the river^h.

Rupert and
Newcastle.

The circumstance now occurred, the avoiding of which had caused Newcastle materially to derange the plan of the last campaign; Rupert and this jealous leader were brought into contact. Rupert was rough and overbearing in his manners, conscious of the royal blood that flowed in his veins, and satisfied that the military profession was that in which he was well qualified to excel. Newcastle was a man of much ceremony, and endowed with the highest degree of good breeding: he was courteous, well behaved, and obliging to all; but then on the other hand he could not endure that others should in any point fail in the respect he thought due to himⁱ. These commanders no sooner met, than they differed.

Newcastle
opposes the
risking a
battle.

Newcastle observed to the prince that he ought to be well contented with the effect his appearance had already produced. The enemy had raised the siege of York; and that was much. He hinted something of differences which had

^h Ibid. p. 631, 632.

ⁱ Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 507.

arisen between the Scots and English commanders of the army of the parliament. He was sure that, if left to themselves, these misunderstandings would ripen into the most disastrous consequences. It might have been worth while to fight, rather than that York should fall. But, now that the siege was at an end, the desired good had been obtained without costing one drop of blood. Under these circumstances the proceeding that Charles's interest required from the prince was, that he should throw a fresh supply of men and provisions into York, and then march away to assist his royal uncle near Oxford, where his presence and aid were so much wanted.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Rupert pleaded on the other hand the positive orders of the king. He appears not to have shewn these orders; and Newcastle seems not to have believed in their existence. He was of opinion too, that his followers, most of them raw recruits, would run away from him, if kept in inaction, and that the best way to make them soldiers, was to make them fight. But most of all, he longed to be engaged in some brilliant exploit. He was not contented to baffle the parliament forces, unless he could at the same time disperse and annihilate them. To these lofty and hero-like suggestions of Rupert Newcastle could only answer, that he was ready and willing to obey the prince in all things, no less than if the king had been there in person. Some of the earl's friends advised him

Rupert in-
sists.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Battle of
Marston
Moor.

not to appear in the battle, since, as they observed, his command was taken from him; to which he answered that, happen what would, he would not shun to fight, for he had no other ambition than to live and die a loyal subject^k.

The allied army drew off from York towards Tadcaster, that they might intercept the prince's progress in a southern direction. News however was immediately brought them that Rupert was advancing towards, and seemed resolved to attack them. They therefore countermanded the march, recalled the troops which formed their van, and arranged themselves on their part in order of battle. The engagement took place on the second of July. The armies consisted of about twenty-five thousand men each. Manchester and Cromwel led the right of the combined forces, and sir Thomas Fairfax the left, while lord Fairfax and the Scottish general commanded in the centre. Rupert was opposed to Cromwel. The ordnance began to play at three in the afternoon; every thing was ready for general action by five; but the battle did not actually commence till seven in the evening. All was closed by ten at night. During these three hours both parties fought with determined bravery. Cromwel and sir Thomas Fairfax were both severely wounded. But Cromwel defeated Rupert; while Fairfax was routed

^k Life of Newcastle, p. 47.

by the enemy. The parliamentary generals excelled in the art of rallying their forces. Rupert's on the contrary, so far as they consisted of raw recruits, when once dispersed, could hardly be brought together again. In fine the forces of the parliament were triumphant in every quarter: the whole ordnance of the enemy was taken, four thousand men were killed, and fifteen hundred made prisoners; while the parliamentary party did not acknowledge more than three hundred slain on their side¹.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Victory declares for the parliament.

This was much the most decisive battle that had been fought from the commencement of the war: and the consequences still more plainly proved its transcendant importance. Rupert immediately retired towards Chester; and Newcastle took his departure for the continent^m. The princely warrior, only twenty-four years of age, now felt for the first time that he was liable to the common lot of man, and was accessible like others to calamity and disgrace. The earl piqued himself upon being able to say, that if his advice had been taken, nothing like this would have happened. Both parties, according to Clarendonⁿ, were impatient to withdraw from the scene, each being desirous of throwing on the other the responsibility of the future. Accordingly, the next morning each sent to the

Rupert retreats.

Newcastle embarks for the continent.

¹ Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 632, et seqq.

^m Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 505.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 507.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

other almost at the same moment a messenger, announcing the resolution immediately to withdraw from the scene^o; and each, in spite of the information received from the other party, proceeded to carry his purpose into execution. Newcastle remained abroad, in obscurity, and with a narrow and precarious income, for sixteen years, till the period of the Restoration.

Surrender
of York.

Newcastle
taken by
storm.

Thus the whole north of England became completely subject to the parliament, while scarcely a garrison remained there that acknowledged the command and directions of the king. York surrendered a fortnight after the battle^p; and the town of Newcastle was stormed by the Scots about three months later^q. Charles had lost nearly one half of the kingdom of England, if we speak of the measurement of length only, and had to contend with a predominant and prosperous part of the nation for the remainder. Nothing but a very decisive victory, or train of victories, could ever restore him to the dominions he had inherited from his ancestors, unless it were through the means of treaty and concession between him and his adversaries, or, which was infinitely less feasible, of a secret plot and conspiracy that should in some unexpected way deprive those adversaries of the

^o Ibid. p. 505.
ubi supra.

^p Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 638. Clarendon,

^q Rushworth, p. 650.

fruits of their heroic perseverance and resolution, and their hard-earned triumphs.

CHAP.
XII.

1644.

Queen re-
tires into
France.

Another circumstance that serves strongly to mark the era at which we are arrived, is what happened in relation to the queen. At the time that Charles prorogued his mock-parliament, or meeting of members of the two houses assembled at Oxford, the queen also left the place. She was far advanced in her pregnancy, and therefore resolved to take up her residence for the present at Exeter, as being a city that seemed more removed from the tumults and alarms of war^r. Here she lay in on the sixteenth of June. Essex, who had marched into the west, was at Chard, less than thirty miles from Exeter, in the end of this month ; and hither the queen sent him a message, desiring from him a safe-conduct to Bath or Bristol for the recovery of her health. To which he returned for answer, that, if she pleased, he would not only give her a safe-conduct, but accompany her himself, to London, where she might have the best advice and means for the recovery of her health ; but for those other places he could say nothing without the direction of parliament^s. It is painful to see the effect of civil broils as displayed in such instances as this ; and we cannot but wonder at this style of reply from a commander so noted for

^r Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 665. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 478.

^s Rushworth, p. 684.

C H A P.
XII.

1644.

good breeding and a generous disposition as Essex, in which the brutality of the thought is only exceeded by the ironical language in which it was conveyed. It is fair however to observe that this is a single example, many instances of courtesy and a liberal behaviour to the sex occurring on both sides in the course of the war. The queen embarked from Falmouth for France on the fourteenth of July^s, and from this time saw her husband no more.

^s Rushworth, p. 684.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARACTER OF THE INDEPENDENTS.—CONSTITUTION AND CHARACTER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.—FIVE SYSTEMS OR CONCEPTIONS WITH REGARD TO CHURCH-GOVERNMENT: POPERY, DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY, PRESBYTERIANISM, INDEPENDENCY, AND ERASTIANISM.—CHARACTER OF THE INDEPENDENT CLERGY.—CONTROVERSIES.—MILTON.—QUESTION OF TOLERATION DEBATED.—NEGOCIATION OF THE KING WITH THE INDEPENDENTS.

DURING the period of these military transactions, many interesting particulars occurred in the assembly of divines and the parliament. A majority of the reflecting and religious part of the nation had been thoroughly disgusted with the episcopal government of the church, as administered by Laud and his compeers, men of a haughty and insolent temper, wedded to pomp and splendour, detesting the puritans, looking with comparative favour upon the principles and system of the church of Rome, servile to the court, advocates on all occasions of passive obedience in matters of civil policy, thoroughly imbued with an intolerant

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

Prevalence
of presby-
terian senti-
ments in the
beginning
of the Long
Parliament.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

spirit, and ever ready, when the question was of suppressing obnoxious tenets, to employ the most odious severities, in the shape of heavy fines, tedious and strait imprisonment, the scourge, the knife, and the pillory. It seems certain, whatever some historians may have alleged to the contrary, that a great majority of the nation was at the meeting of the Long Parliament hostile to the institution of bishops^a. There were no doubt many pious and excellent men, among those who filled conspicuous stations in the hierarchy. There was a considerable portion of the nobility, gentry and others, who looked with partial regard upon the ecclesiastical system of their fathers. But that is mere human nature; and in cases of this sort it can scarcely be otherwise. The active and operant part of the community, the vigour and energy of the living principle in the body politic, was almost exclusively on the other side.

Spirit of the
presbyte-
rian system.

But the mind of man had at this time only arrived at a certain stage of its graduated progress. The church of England was a vast and complicated body, all of whose officers and ministers were arranged in an ascending scale, and closely knit and compacted, one with the other. The discontent party disapproved of the number of the steps, and the extensive emoluments and power of its superior members. But for the most part

^a See above, Chapter III.

they only conceived the plan of a system of greater plainness and simplicity. They proposed to substitute for the episcopal church now in being, a presbyterian church. The episcopal church had a hatred of sects; the presbyterians did not come behind her in that particular. The episcopal church was intolerant; so were the presbyterians. Both of them regarded with horror the idea of a free press, and that every man should be permitted to publish and support by his writings whatever positions his caprice or his conviction might dictate to him.

In fact human beings can scarcely be instructed in any other way than by experience, concerning the innocence of error; I mean in that sense, that the dissemination of opinions and arguments, where all are free to maintain, to examine, and to refute, can scarcely be injurious to the community. Untaught by practice and the course of human affairs, they can scarcely imagine a race of intellectual creatures, "like an eagle, muing her mighty youth, and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance^b." They for themselves rather resemble that "noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, that flutter about, amazed at the track of the royal bird, and prognosticate in their envious gabble" a calamitous multiplication of "sects and schisms^b."

^b Milton, *Areopagitica*.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

Sentiments
of the more
enlightened
parliamentary
leaders.

Still however, among the great geniuses and profound politicians of this memorable period, there were a few, who could look with a steady eye into the future, could measure the limbs and muscles of the human mind, and could see what man in a state of liberty could do and sustain, and what were likely to be the results of all he could suffer and all he could effect. They viewed controversy and intellectual contention as the road to substantial peace and genuine vigour. They saw that liberty of disquisition was the whole some element in which intellect refines, that to weigh and discern truth from falshood the scales which are employed in the trial must be freely poized, and that there can be no real conscience and no pure religion, where religion and conscience are not permitted to act without restraint.

Religious
sect of the
independ-
ents.

But what is scarcely less worthy of notice, there was at this time a sect of Christians, penetrated with the fervours of the most earnest zeal, the Independents, who maintained nearly the same tenets on this subject with the party last mentioned. They were led to the conclusions they adopted, by somewhat of a different process. Like the presbyterians, they cordially disapproved of the pomp and hierarchy of the church of England. But they went further. They equally disapproved of the synods, provincial and general, the classes and incorporations of presbytery, a system scarcely less complicated, though infinitely less dazzling,

than that of diocesan episcopacy. They held, that a church was a body of Christians assembled in one place appropriated for their worship, and that every such body was complete in itself, that they had a right to draw up the rules by which they thought proper to be regulated, and that no man not a member of their assembly, and no body of men, was entitled to interfere with their proceedings^c. Demanding toleration on these grounds, they felt that they were equally bound to concede and assert it for others; and they preferred to see a number of churches with different sentiments and institutes within the same political community, to the idea of remedying the evil, and exterminating error, by means of exclusive regulations and the menaces and severities of punishment.

The whole question of church-government in England had been referred by the parliament to the examination of an assembly of divines, to be called together from every part of the realm^d. But in all this the great statesmen who sat at the helm of affairs, had proceeded with admirable caution. The convocation of the church of England, and the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, were bodies recognised by law, endowed with peculiar privileges and functions, and enabled to act from

Assembly
of divines,
how consti-
tuted.

^c Apologetical Narration of the Independents.

^d For an account of the first bill to that effect, see page 74.

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

themselves, through whose deliberations and decrees the church might occasionally become formidable to the state. Not so the assembly of divines we are here considering. The parliament assumed the express nomination of the members of whom the assembly should consist; their functions were confined to counsel and advice; and they were to deliberate only upon such matters and things as were proposed to them by either or both houses of parliament. The number of clergy summoned to this assembly, according to the ordinance which passed into a law on the twelfth of June 1643*, was one hundred and twenty, to which were added (or more properly premised, since their names in the ordinance take the precedence of those of the clergy) ten peers, and twenty members of the house of commons. The commoners were of course some of the ablest members of that house. The two houses further joined one person and another to the assembly from time to time at their discretion.

Character
of its mem-
bers.

Of the character and endowments of the members of this assembly it is necessary we should form a distinct idea; and we shall be in some danger of being misled on the subject, if we build our apprehensions respecting it upon what we see passing in modern times. For the last hun-

* Journals of Lords. Husbands, *sub eodem tempore*.

dred and sixty years all ecclesiastical preferment has been limited to the episcopal clergy, and most of the advantages of a professional education have been restricted to that party; while the presbyterians or dissenters among us, are comparatively insignificant in number, and have few of those opportunities of improvement which fall to the lot of their more favoured rivals. There is little that presents itself to awaken their ambition; and neither rank nor honours nor fortune are made to attend on their progress. Not so at the period of which we are treating. The English clergy were at this time nearly equally divided, or perhaps the preponderance lay with the adversaries of the established system. The one party as well as the other, might be considered as being in the road to many church-preferments. Meanwhile the latter, however numerous, possessed the advantages of a persecuted party, discountenanced by the court, and pursued by innumerable vexations and oppressions. Theirs would be the virtues and the energies of adversity. They earnestly sought to excel and eclipse their opponents in every thing that was commendable. The episcopalians on the other hand engrossed for the most part the highest stations of the church, and therefore had strong temptations to become luxurious and dissipated. We can scarcely be erroneous in saying, under all these circumstances, that the greater weight

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

The majority presbyterians.

Certain episcopal clergy named as members.

Ten or twelve divines of the independent party.

of character and authority was at this time with the reforming clergy.

Much attention seems to have been paid to the composition of the assembly. A powerful majority of its clergy consisted of persons, who in their judgment condemned the structure of the church established, and were disposed to adopt for their pattern the presbyterian model of Scotland. A certain number of members were taken from the episcopal clergy: Brownrigg bishop of Exeter, Prideaux of Worcester, and Westfield of Bristol, together with the celebrated Usher, lord primate of Ireland, upon whom, since his being driven into exile by the rebellion in that country, Charles had bestowed the bishopric of Carlisle. With these were Morley afterwards bishop of Winchester, Sanderson of Lincoln, Hacket of Litchfield, Hammond the most eminent of the king's chaplains, and several other distinguished episcopalians. Lastly, there were ten or twelve clergy of the party known by the name of independents^f. The place of their meeting was Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster; and their first session occurred on the first day of July 1643. Few of the episcopal clergy named in the ordinance ever attended the assembly, and

^f Baillie, Vol. I, p. 401.

those who did, withdrew after a small number of sittings.

CHAP.
XIII.

There was something that seemed to demand a peculiarly delicate and dexterous management in the questions that were submitted to the deliberation of this assembly; and the geniuses whose authority was greatest in the conduct of the affair, were admirably qualified for the task they had undertaken. An overwhelming majority of the members of the assembly adhered to the presbyterian system; and, what added inexpressibly to their obvious advantages, the Scottish nation and government were fanatically devoted to that system. The alliance of the Scots was to be purchased at almost any price by the English parliament, particularly under the complicated misfortunes which beset their cause in the autumn of 1643. But the Scots pressed with appalling vehemence for uniformity of church government between the two nations. This, entire, unqualified and complete, was the price of their friendship; and they regarded with a sacred and fearful horror the idea of any lukewarmness and double-dealing in a matter of such incalculable importance.

1643.
Political
conduct of
the leaders
of the inde-
pendents in
parliament.

One would think that nothing could be able to support itself against these two considerations, the majority of the clergy at home, and the imperious demand of the neighbour nation. But there were men who had the courage to look at all this, and yet determined to proceed. The chief

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.
Points for
which they
contended.

Five stages
of authori-
ty in church
govern-
ment.

1. Popery.

of them were Vane, Cromwel, St. John, Selden and Whitlocke. There were two questions involved in the contention, that they deemed worthy of their utmost efforts; freedom from ecclesiastical subjugation; and the freedom of the press.

This topic will be best understood, if we call to mind the five different steps of gradual descent and diminished authority, of church-government, as it has been practised in different ages and countries professing Christianity. The highest and most perfect is that of the Roman Catholic religion, as it was at the time that its power was most uncontrollable. This is a system of unmingled and absolute despotism, teaching men what they shall speak and think upon subjects of religion, allowing no variation or diverging from the established standard, shutting up from the laity the books in which the origin and laws of Christianity are recorded, promulgating an *index expurgatorius* of all other books, calling in the aid of the faggot, the stake, and the *auto da fe* to enforce its decrees, and binding the whole with the awful and tremendous sanction of auricular confession. Popery also had the additional resource of binding all Christendom together as one man; and it had the advantage over all other forms of Christianity, in the masterly and costly way in which it addressed itself to the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of its disciples.

2. Diocesan
episcopacy.

The second form of church-government, par-

taking of many of the advantages of the Roman Catholic system, is that of diocesan episcopacy. It aims, though at a distance, and with a diminished flight, at the same splendour; it accumulates its emoluments and its honours in somewhat of a similar manner. It issues its canons and decrees; it fulminates its excommunications. Like the church of Rome, it is rigorous and untemperising. It denounces schism as perhaps the greatest of all offences. And it punishes all deviation from its rules, at least it did in the times of which we are treating, in somewhat of the same manner as the church of Rome, with this difference, that where the pope and the inquisition burned its victims alive, the church of England confined itself to the lash, the slitting of noses, or the cutting off of ears.

CHAP.
XIII.
1643.

Next comes the presbyterian system, not less exclusive and intolerant, and impressed with no less horror of the blasphemy and perniciousness of sects, than the former. Its chief distinctions are, the comparative moderation of its emoluments, and the plainness of its garb. The clergy of the church of Scotland were habited with something of the same unambitious sadness, as we see in paintings of the fathers of the inquisition. But this is in certain respects a disadvantage. He that lords it over me, and would persuade me that he is not of the same ignoble kind as myself, ought perhaps to be clad in robes, and covered with

3. Presby-
terianism.

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

ermine and gold. It is some mitigation of my sufferings. I should be glad to be deluded and dazzled to the last. It seems natural that human beings should prefer, like the widow of Benares, to die amidst the clangour of trumpets and the soft breathing of recorders, to the perishing by the deformed and withering blow of undisguised cruelty.'

4. Independency.

The system of the independents has been already described. Its generous spirit of toleration, and fearlessness of sects, come in beautiful contrast with the systems already described. It demands no other liberty for itself, than it is willing to yield to all others.

5. Erastianism.

But even this system did not go far enough to satisfy the master-spirits of the age of the commonwealth. They detected a latent error, and saw a seed of despotism and oppression even in the simple creed of this sect. The doctrine on the subject which obtained their approbation, received its name from Thomas Erastus, a German physician of the sixteenth century, contemporary with Luther. The work in which he delivered his theory and reasonings on the subject is entitled *De Excommunicatione Ecclesiastica*.

The independents taught, that a church was a body of Christians assembled in one place appropriated for their worship, and that every such body was complete in itself, that they had a right to draw up the maxims by which they

thought proper to be regulated, and that no man not a member of their assembly, and no body of men, was entitled to interfere with their proceedings. But the Erastians proceeded on another principle. They held that religion is an affair between man and his creator, in which no other man or society of men was entitled to interpose. "Who art thou that judgest another?" says St. Paul. "To his own master he standeth or falleth." Proceeding on this ground, they maintained that every man calling himself a Christian, has a right to make resort to any Christian place of worship, and partake in all its ordinances. Simple as this idea is, it strikes at the root of all priestcraft, and usurpation of one man over the conscience of another. Excommunication, or "the power of the keys," as it has been called, is the great engine of ecclesiastical tyranny. Those who claim to exercise this power, are hereby enabled to intrude themselves into the most sacred and private concerns of every one who holds Christian worship and the ordinances of Christianity to be part of his duty. They enquire into his life, and find perhaps that his conduct and actions do not square with their ideas of rectitude. They examine him as to his creed, and discover that it does not tally with their private interpretation of scripture. They undertake to reduce his confession to what they receive for truth, and to prescribe to him penances and mortification. They require of him spiritual

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

obedience. If he fails in any of these things, they shut him out from the commemoration of the merits of Christ at first, or excommunicate him afterwards. They refuse him the consolations of the religion he embraces, and hold him up to his brother professors as no better than "a heathen man and a publican." They take from him by their arbitrary and lawless decree that character, which makes him respectable among his fellows, and sustains him in self-reverence which is the root of all virtue. It was "the power of the keys" carried to its utmost extent, that enabled the popes of former times to place whole realms under an interdict, and to dissolve the obligation of subjects to the government under which they lived.

Coalition of
the Erasti-
ans and the
independ-
ents.

The question however between the independents and the Erastians was not of that sort, which should oblige them to stand in hostility to

§ A sketch of the speeches of Selden and Whitlocke in favour of Erastianism may be found in Whitlocke, p. 169, 170.

"A party was formed by Selden, and a few statesmen and temperate divines, who proposed to restore to the magistrate the coercive power which the church had assumed, and to reduce the pastoral functions to exhortation and prayer." Laing, History of Scotland, Vol. III, p. 289.

"Erastians: for the most part lawyers, that could not endure to hear of any thunderbolts of excommunication but what were heated in their own forge;" in other words, that were not controlled by some known rule of law. Perinchief, p. 32.

each other in a national assembly either in church or state. It does not become of paramount importance, unless in so far as excommunication shall connect itself with a national establishment. The independents claimed the right of admitting or excluding members, each man for his own little church. The Erastians condemned this ; but they did not consider it as a proper subject of legislative interference. They condemned it in morality ; but they did not regard it as a topic of civil prohibition and punishment. The Erastians therefore and the independents concurred amicably together, both in the assembly of divines and the nation at large, in checking and limiting the career of the presbyterians : and the force of both of them conjoined, though they were at first apparently insignificant in point of numbers, was able in no long time to give birth to the most important changes.

CHAP.
XIII.
1644.

The character of the independent clergy in the assembly of divines has been delivered to us by the pens of two of the most considerable of their adversaries ; and therefore we are at no loss for authentic materials of judgment respecting them. Clarendon says of them ^h, “ The independents were more learned and rational than the presbyterians ; and, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet they infected,

Character
of the inde-
pendent
clergy.

^h Vol. III, p. 115.

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, as well as by others of better condition." And Baillie, one of the deputies from Scotland, sent to watch over the interests of presbyterianism in the assembly, relates of themⁱ, that "truly they speak much, and exceedingly well." And elsewhere^k, "Truly, if he cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out."

As to the main points in consideration, they vehemently and tenaciously pleaded for a free press, and a general toleration, two points most alien to the temper of the church of Scotland, as it then stood.

Controversies.

Thomas Edwards.

The first publication I find on the subject of the controversy between the presbyterians and independents is entitled, "Reasons against the Independent Government of Particular Congregations: as also, against the Toleration of such Churches to be erected in this Kingdome: together with an Answer to such Reasons as are commonly alledged for a Toleration." By Thomas Edwards, minister of Christ-church, London. This production bears the date of 1641. There was something daring and comparatively generous, in a presbyterian writing against the toleration of all churches but his own, when presbyterianism itself stood as

ⁱ Vol. I, p. 401.

^k p. 436.

yet in a doubtful and critical situation, whether it should not be put down by a stronger arm, and when her adherents, including this author, were just escaped from the persecutions of the episcopals, and returned from exile in a foreign land.

CHAP.
XIII.

1643.

On the twentieth of November four deputies from the general assembly of the church of Scotland, Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Baillie, were introduced to the assembly of divines at Westminster¹. They are stated to have come up as commissioners from the national church of the northern kingdom, to treat for uniformity in the scheme of church establishment^m.

Deputies
from the
kirk of
Scotland.

About two months after their arrival Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, two of the leaders of the independents, produced an Apologetical Narration addressed to the Two Houses of Parliament, in the name of their brethren, and signed by themselves and three other members of the assemblyⁿ. Copies of this paper were distributed to the assembly generally, and to the two houses of parliament. As the drift of this composition was to justify their peculiar mode of forming churches, by their own spontaneous act, and without concurrence with the state, and to demonstrate the reasonableness of a toleration of

1644.
Apologeti-
cal Narra-
tion of the
independ-
ents.

¹ Baillie, Vol. I, p. 398.

^m Ibid. p. 400.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 420. Wood, art. Nye.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

such churches, as well as of every other mode of Christian worship, it gave some alarm and great offence to the presbyterians. It was answered by Edwards, Baillie, one of the Scottish deputies, doctor Adam Steuart, also a Scottish divine, and several others.

Milton.
Doctrine
and Disci-
pline of
Divorce.

But what gives peculiar lustre and interest to this controversy, is that Milton took a part in it. It is a singular coincidence, that at this very period he published his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, being stimulated to undertake the discussion by the circumstance of his difference with his wife, who, at the time when the king's affairs appeared to be going on most prosperously in the former year, retired to the house of her father, a royalist, and refused to return. Whatever were the merits of Milton's argument, who professed to restore the rules in that particular, to the true meaning of scripture, and the ideas of the first reformers, and whose notions were two years after sustained by Selden, in a treatise, called *Uxor Hebraica*°, we may be sure that his book was ill received by the majority. Men in general are averse to any thing that looks towards change in the fundamental institutions of society, and would unavoidably contemplate with horror and distaste whatever had a seeming tendency to diminish the sacredness of marriage. The assembly of divines

° Miltoni Defensio Secunda.

thought proper to visit Milton's production with their censure, and had influence enough to cause him to be "summoned before the house of lords; but that house," we are told, "whether approving his doctrine, or not favouring his accusers, dismissed the complaint^p."

^p Wood, Vol. I, Fasti, art. Milton. I do not however find any trace of the affair in the Journals. Milton himself says (Dedication to the Parliament, prefixed to Tetrachordon), "I do not yet find that ought hath issued by your appointment, that might give the least interruption or disrepute either to the author, or to the book. Which he who will be better advised then to call your neglect, or connivance at a thing imagined so perilous, can attribute to nothing more justly, then to the deep and quiet streame of your direct and calme deliberations; that gave not way either to the fervent rashnesse, or the immaterial gravity, of those who ceased not to exasperate without cause." All therefore that we can be certain of is, that it was preached against by Herbert Palmer, one of the assembly, and presbyterian Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, in a sermon before the two houses of parliament, August 13, in which he expressed himself of it, as "a wicked book, deserving to be burned;" and that Caryl, another member of the assembly, in the exercise of his function as licencer of the press to an answer to Milton's, pronounced of his doctrine that it was "answered, and with good reason confuted by his opponent, to the preservation of the marriage-bond, and the honour of that estate, against the sad breaches and dangerous abuses which were at present attempted."

Since writing the above, I find in the Journals of the Lords, December 28, 1644, a complaint by the wardens of the Stationers' Company, of the "frequent printing of scandalous books, particularly by Hezekiah Woodward and John Milton." The lords in consequence referred the complaint to the examination of judges Reeve and Bacon; but it does not appear that the name of Milton was further mentioned in the business.

CHAP.
XIII.1644.
Areopag-
gitica.

Within a short time after the appearance of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton published a treatise, expressly in application to the great question upon which the attention of the public was at this time fixed. The title of his performance is *Areopagitica*; a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicenced Printing, to the Parliament of England. It would not be easy to discover, in the whole stream and succession of literary productions any thing more cogent and forcible than this tract. It may be that the eloquence of the author in some degree flowed from resentment of the treatment which had been bestowed upon his late work; though he had too great elevation of mind directly to advert to the circumstance. It is observable, that though the former treatise was addressed to the parliament with the assembly, by the appellations of “Renowned Parliament, Select Assembly!” this is presented to the former only. The Speech confines its object to the question of licencing, in other words, to the right of every mature man to present his meditations to the public through the medium of the press, without “appearing in print like a puny with his guardian, and, having scaped the *ferula* of a schoolmaster, next to come under the fescue of an *Imprimatur*.” for such was the miserable condition of English literature at the time that Milton produced this treatise. The other question, of the offences that might be committed through the

medium of the press, and the punishment that was afterwards to be awarded to them, did not come within the scope of the author's enquiry.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

Powerful
interfe-
rence of the
Scottish
nation.

The crisis produced by the debates in the assembly of divines was one of the most momentous that could occur in the history of any country. The presbyterians infinitely outnumbered their opponents in the assembly: a great majority of the citizens of London were presbyterian: and the party was now fearfully and formidably reinforced by the general consent of the Scottish nation. The Scottish parliament and general assembly had entered into the recently concluded alliance, solely or principally from their devoted love to presbyterianism. They had sent up their commissioners (the commissioners of the Scottish parliament arrived on the fifth of February), to watch that the league should be executed in the strictest construction which their party put upon it, by establishing an entire uniformity of church-government. A Scots army of more than twenty thousand men had entered England in the commencement of the year; and one of the Scottish divines sent up on the occasion very frankly acknowledges: "We purpose not to meddle in haste with a point of so high consequence, till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments^a."

^a Baillie, Vol. I, p. 402.

CHAP.
XIII.1644.
Arguments
against
toleration.

The presbyterianism of all these parties was rigid. They held the necessity of a presbytery, congregational, provincial and synodical, and asserted this system in all its parts to be of divine institution. They were filled with ideas of the beauty of religious uniformity. Truth was one; and God could only be suitably worshipped in truth. Latitudinarianism of principle was intimately connected with impurity of conduct. Christians were edified by a consent in one universally admitted creed; but were perniciously acted upon and distracted by a variety of discordant beliefs. It was easy to discountenance and prevent the growth of error, if the undertaking were entered upon in time. An impregnable barrier should be opposed; and then the nascent and imperfect inclination to wander would be checked in the beginning. What on the other hand could be more audacious towards God, and offensive to all good men, than the coexistence of a variety of sects? There was nothing so extravagant and monstrous in opinion, that had not at some time been adopted by one sect or another, till our common Christianity was rendered a scorn and contempt in the eyes of its adversaries. The mind of man was prone to absurdity, and sought out many inventions; and, if not affectionately admonished, and wholsomely restrained, would run wild in inconceivable follies. Popery itself, in the eyes of a presbyterian

of this period, was less to be deplored, than a labyrinth of sects and schisms, in which reason was deserted, piety trodden under foot, and every kind of scandal obtruded on the observation of the holy and pure of heart.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

Such were the ideas of the presbyterians. But a variety of circumstances were unfavourable to the establishment of their project. England never abounded more in men of bold and independent thought than at this period ; and, what was worse for the projectors in question, a great portion of these men were serious and conscientious, full of piety towards God, impressed with a deep sense of duty, and a strong conviction of what belonged to them as reasonable beings each man accountable for his own actions. Scotland was at this time comparatively a nation of children ; England of full-grown men, each individual in the most honourable sense a priest and a prophet for himself. The parliamentary armies in particular were full of such men. They had originally embarked in the cause of liberty in opposition to the usurpations of the king and the hierarchy. Could such men submit to the issue that they were to be priest-ridden by a set of church-governors, different indeed in habit, but acting on principles considerably similar to those against which they had first risen ? Could they be contented to be told, You must think as the established national church thinks ; you must pray and worship God

Character
of the
friends of
toleration.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

as the national synod and parliament shall appoint? Or, if in your hearts you think otherwise, you must in outward form demean yourselves, as if the creed of each was formed to one imperious and prescribed pattern?

No; each man was prepared to shed his blood in opposition to such tyranny. Had they fought against the king and the priest whom their hearts abjured; and was the issue of all to be, that they must submit to a legal uniformity? The terrors of fine, imprisonment and pillory, the threats that, if they worshipped otherwise than in the mode prescribed by law, their places of worship should be shut up, and they themselves dragged before a magistrate to answer for their conduct as a crime, had originally put arms in their hands. They had fought for liberty, and perhaps most of all, for the liberty of obeying their own consciences, and consulting foremost the judge that every freeman feels as presiding in his own bosom.

Classes of
which they
were com-
posed.

The careless and imitative set of men that we call historians, have misrepresented all this. They have considered it as a struggle between two sects, the presbyterians and independents, and have necessarily led their readers to the enquiry which of these two sects was the worthiest. It is true that, at the times of which we are treating, the parties were called by these two names. But this was purely accidental. The presbyterians indeed

were one : but the independents, considered as a political party were many, united only in their love of intellectual liberty, and their zeal for toleration. It happened, that there was a certain small number of clergy in the assembly of divines, who pleaded for the independent government of particular churches, and that these men were exemplary in their lives, and of distinguished ability. But the party of the independents, in this limited sense of the word was always small. A number of sects however, and sets of men embracing different religious opinions, enlisted themselves in the political party of the independents. Erastians, anabaptists, millenarians, fifth-monarchy men, individuals who even in these times did not borrow their creed from the country in which they were born, but thought like citizens of the universe, and sects the very names of which have perished, all embarked in the sacred cause against presbyterian usurpation, and a compulsory uniformity of religious worship and belief.

The dissensions that arose out of this question were ardent and bitter. Each party was thoroughly in earnest, and profoundly persuaded that public virtue and public welfare were inseparably connected with the side they espoused. We in these times can with difficulty enter into the questions with which at that period every heart was pervaded. We are accustomed to tole-

Momentous nature of the question.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

ration, and are become almost insensible to the excellence of so invaluable a gift. We are for the most part cured of that passion for uniformity in faith and ceremonies, with which our ancestors were so deeply imbued. Schism was then a term pregnant with nameless horrors; and it was seriously debated whether schism were not the sin which "never could be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." Christ, when he took his last farewell of his disciples, said, "I am with you always," in spirit, "even to the end of time." To separate ourselves therefore from the Catholic church, the spiritual body of Christ, amounted to much the same thing as to renounce the redeemer. All these sentiments were heightened by the opportune application of a metaphor—it was to tear the body of Christ, and to "crucify the Lord afresh."

Political
bias of the
two parties.

It has been said by some historians that the war which broke out between the king and the parliament was originally a war of religion. And so in some degree it was. The party in opposition to the court was deeply impressed with the degenerate character and the abuses of the church of England, though at the same time they were equally bent to contend against the civil usurpations of the crown, and the disuse of parliaments. In like manner the contention that now broke out between the presbyterians and independents was in a great degree, a question of religion. The

independents were inflexibly bent not to submit to those who sought to "bind free conscience in secular chains". But there was beside this a political question involved in their struggle. Most of the nobility, and of the men of great wealth, who had engaged on the parliamentary side, were presbyterians. They were tired of the war, and anxious for a compromise.* They also shewed on various occasions an alarm, lest the king should be brought too low. They did not desire an entire victory. What they wished for, was an accommodation between the crown and the aristocracy, in which each of them might secure certain favourite objects, and be enabled to dictate to the nation. The presbyterians stood in awe of the independents, who had looked deeper into the questions now in agitation, and who abhorred the idea of a half-faced and patch-work termination. The presbyterians feared, that if the king were wholly conquered, the more liberal notions of the independents might gain the ascendancy, and overwhelm their cautious and self-seeking measures.

Charles seems for the moment to have entertained views very different from theirs. The presbyterians had stirred up the war against him, and he had resolved never to forgive them. It was the presbyterians that had put all the mortifica-

Negocia-
tion of the
king with
the inde-
pendents.

* Milton, Sonnet 16.

CHAP.
XIII.

1644.

tions upon him that he had experienced in Scotland. The presbyterians of England had subjected him to a multitude of affronts and insults, before the independents had been almost so much as heard of. These latter appeared to him comparatively a mighty innocent sort of people. They asked only a toleration, not an establishment. He had besides imbibed the same notion as his father, that without bishops in England there could be no king. He thought episcopacy and independency might be reconciled ; but with the presbyterians there was no hope for his favourite mode of church-government. Add to which, Charles never felt so perfectly himself, as when he was engaged in an intrigue. It was a conception flattering to the subtlety of which he conceived himself master, that he should get into a negotiation with Mr. St. John and Sir Henry Vane. These leaders humoured the overture, that they might be the better acquainted with the king's designs ; but they took care to communicate every thing that passed to the speaker, to a committee of the house of commons, to which they belonged, and to the Scots' commissioners, that their conduct might be free from suspicion. But Essex, not knowing this, and getting some hint of the matter, laid a complaint against these two as traitors to the cause, before the house of lords. They were of course most honourably acquitted*.

* Journals, Jan. 17. Baillie, Vol. I, p. 426.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISSENTIONS AMONG THE PARLIAMENTARY OFFICERS.—ESSEX MARCHES FOR THE WEST.—EXPLOITS OF BLAKE IN THE DEFENCE OF LIME.—KING MARCHES AGAINST ESSEX.—CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS OF CORNWAL.—CHARLES TRIES TO CORRUPT THE FIDELITY OF ESSEX.—ESSEX'S TROOPS LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS.

LET us turn from these civil broils to the military conduct of affairs. It might have been thought, after the battle of Marston Moor, and the king's losing at one blow the northern half of his kingdom, that the war might be terminated in the present campaign. But it proved otherwise. For this there were various causes. None of the leading parliamentary generals, neither Essex, nor Manchester, nor Waller, had those qualities, by which circumstances and events are controlled, and which lead affairs triumphantly on to the issue desired. The first two did not seriously wish that conclusion to the war, which was the purpose of the ablest and most consummate of the parliamentary statesmen. And, what crowned the mischief, and wore a fearful aspect for the

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

Success of the parliamentary armies receives a check.

Dissentions among the commanders.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

Discontent
of Essex.

public cause, there were great dissensions and heart-burnings between the different individuals to whom was confided on the part of the public the service of the field.

In the spring of the year the army which the king commanded in person, had been annoyed by the cooperating forces of Essex and Waller, and had been placed in a situation of much peril. It was however the plan which had been formed for the campaign, that after a time these armies should divide, one being thought sufficient to hold the king in check, and the other destined to relieve the garrisons in the west. Waller was named by the committee of the two kingdoms for this latter service. But the proposed plan did not suit the humour of Essex. He was like a spoiled child. He was looked upon with a distrustful eye by some of the great parliamentary leaders; and on his part he was perpetually apprehensive that he was not treated with sufficient deference and respect. He was the most popular and one of the highest noblemen in the kingdom; and he could not bear that the authority of any other man in the field should be brought into competition with his. We have seen some instances of this in the former campaign. We have just seen him precipitately making enemies of two of the persons of most considerable weight in the parliamentary deliberations.

Hemarches
into the
west.

He now suddenly formed the determination

that he would take upon him the march into the west. He wrote to the committee of the two kingdoms on the sixth of June, simply to announce that such was his purpose^a. To this an answer somewhat peremptory was returned, confirming the appointment of Waller for that expedition, and requiring Essex to return to his station in Oxfordshire^b. This letter found the general already advanced in his march as far as Blandford in Dorsetshire. From hence he replied, stating that their "directions had been contrary to the discipline of war and to reason, and that if he should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all respects^c," and subscribed his letter, "Your innocent, though suspected servant." The rejoinder to this from the committee was couched in somewhat strong terms. They observed, that in this and other letters the general had used many expressions, which might well have been forborne, and which they did not question he now wished had not been written. They however consented under the circumstances to his proceeding in his march; and added, that they expected that such directions as he should from time to time receive from the two houses, or

^a Journals of Commons, June 10.

^b Ibid. June 12.

^c Walker, p. 22. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 490. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 683.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.
Exploits of
Blake in
the defence
of Lime.

from this committee, would for the future be observed^d. Here the controversy ended.

One of the objects that most engaged the attention of the parliamentary statesmen at this time, was the relief of Lime, besieged by prince Maurice^e. This town was by its situation of considerable importance, standing on the sea-coast, and connecting, as it did, the west of England with the more central parts and the heart of the island^f. Many of the most valuable characters engaged in the cause of the parliament, spirits highly anxious for the success of that cause, drew their birth from the western counties^g. Their influence and authority had been great; but a change of fortune had recently taken place, and the royal party was at this time lord of the ascendant there. For this reason Lime was a point of particular interest; and it soon became more so by the extraordinary and obstinate defence made by its little garrison of eleven hundred men^h, against all the force that could be brought against it. The soul of that defence was Blakeⁱ, a man who, on a subsequent occasion in similar circumstances, said to his besiegers; "As we neither fear your menaces, nor accept your proffers, so

^d June 19. Rushworth, *ubi supra*.

^e Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 670, 677, et seqq.

^f Ibid. p. 670.

^g Ludlow, Vol. I, p. 112.

^h Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 680.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 679, 680.

we wish you for time to come to desist from your overtures to us, who are resolved to the last drop of our blood to maintain the quarrel in which we are engaged, and doubt not but that the same God who hath hitherto protected us, will ere long bless us with an issue answerable to the justice of our cause—however that shall be, to him alone we stand or fall^k.”

CHAP.
XIV.
1644.

It would perhaps be invidious to compare the defence Blake made for Lime, with the defence made by Fiennes for Bristol twelve months before. It is indeed sufficiently memorable, that Blake was numbered among the defenders of Bristol, and being trusted with a little fort on the line, he had refused to give it up after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, for which prince Rupert threatened to hang him^l.

The committee of the two kingdoms had been anxious for the relief of Lime, and had ordered Essex to send a strong party of horse and dragoons for that purpose^m; but it had not been their intention that he should march his whole army thither. Indeed the original plan had been for Waller to proceed in that direction with his forces, which consisted in a great degree of gentlemen from that part of England, who hoped by this

Essex proceeds to the relief of that place.

^k Whitlocke, p. 121.

^l Clarendon, Vol. III, p. 602.

^m Journals, June 10.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

employment to have been enabled to secure the country, and render the public a serviceⁿ. In the mean while Warwick, lord admiral, had sailed with a similar commission, and had thrown succours into Lime^o. There must no doubt have been a peculiar congeniality between the frank sincerity of this nobleman, and the daring and resolute spirit of Blake.

June 15.

Upon the rumour of the march of Essex, and before he had approached the place, Maurice raised the siege, and drew off his forces^p. Lime being thus relieved, the earl of Warwick went ashore, and wondered much how a place of little strength, more than the mere courage of its defenders supplied, and situated low under a hill, could have held out so long, against so many fierce assaults, and the enemy being so numerous; and yet in the whole siege the town lost not above one hundred and twenty men, while the loss of the assailants amounted to two thousand^q.

Blake was no sooner freed from the siege which had restrained him, than, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, a gentleman of the county, he surprised Taunton, a post which in the following campaign proved of the utmost importance to the parliamentary cause^r.

Reduces
Weymouth.

Lime being relieved, Essex marched against

ⁿ Ludlow, Vol. I, p. 112.

^o Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 680.

^p Ibid. p. 682.

^q Whitlocke, p. 90, 91.

^r Ibid. p. 95.

Weymouth, which was surrendered to him on his summons. There were found in it one hundred pieces of ordnance, and arms of all sorts in abundance^s. For some time indeed his march seemed to be attended with every degree of success; his demeanour, wherever he came, was popular and engaging; and in the eastern parts of Devonshire in particular he was offered ample recruits to strengthen his forces^t. Maurice retreated before him; and Essex pursued, with a design to force the prince to a general action.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.
June 19.

But here the tide of fortune turned against the parliamentary general. He was already beyond Exeter, when he received the unexpected intelligence of the defeat and dispersion of Waller's army. The king was now free to chuse in what direction he should think proper to march; and he was induced, partly by consideration for the critical situation of his queen, to select the pursuit of Essex as the object he should propose to himself. He accordingly began his march on the twelfth of July, and took up his quarters at Bath on the fifteenth, at Ilchester on the twentieth, and at Exeter on the twenty-sixth^u.

King
marches in
pursuit of
him.

The first idea that offered itself to the mind of Essex, when he heard of these events, was that

^s Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 683. Whitlocke, p. 92.

^t Whitlocke, p. 95. Sir Edw. Walker, p. 26.

^u Walker, p. 37, 39, 40, 47.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

he would return upon his steps, and face the royal army, either in Somersetshire or on the borders of Devon. But he was dissuaded from this salutary counsel, chiefly by lord Roberts, who had large estates in Cornwall, and assured the general that it would be easy for him, by the great concurrence and support he would receive, to arrest the king's march at the passes which led into that county, from whence he might afterwards advance, himself being amply reinforced and the enemy disheartened and dismayed, and annoy Charles most successfully in his retreat^w.

Character
of the inha-
bitants of
Cornwal.

Events however turned out the very reverse of what was here predicted. No part of the king's dominions was found so universally well affected to Charles and his cause. The principle of this is explained by Walker in such a manner, that, allowing for one or two words expressive of the feelings of his party, it can scarcely be amended. "The gentry of this country," says he, "retain their old possessions, their old tenants, and expect from them their ancient reverence and obedience. And, give me leave to say, if many of the nobility and gentry of this unhappy kingdom had not fallen from the lustre, virtue, and honour of their ancestors, and by their luxury been necessitated to manumise their villains, but had paid that

^w Ibid. p. 48. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 512. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 690. Ludlow, Vol. I, p. 126.

awful reverence to the majesty and greatness of their sovereign as they ought, they might have expected the same proportionably from their inferiors and tenants; and, instead of having them their companions, or rather masters (as they now are), they might have had them their servants; and then I believe this war, which, under pretence of religion and liberties, is to introduce heresy in doctrine, parity in conditions, and to destroy the king, nobility and gentry, in probability had not been ^x.”

CHAP.
XIV.
1644.

The king therefore here had the same advantage, that his opponents possessed through the rest of the kingdom in the exactness of his intelligence, and the zeal of the whole population for the success of his arms^y. Essex crossed the Tamar about the middle of July^z, sir Richard Grenville having preceded him with a detachment of Maurice's army, in the vain hope that he could prevent the parliamentary forces from entering the county. Grenville however retreated before Essex, from the Callington road, which he was pursuing, to Launceston, and from Launceston to Truro^a. The earl proceeded to Liskeard and Bodmin, at

^x Walker, p. 50. The principle of the war is here admirably developed. It is to be observed that Walker's narrative was drawn up under the king's own eye, and that Charles condescended in many instances to interline it with his pen.

^y Ibid.

^z Walker, p. 49. Rushworth by mistake says the 26th. Vol. V, p. 691.

^a Walker, p. 49.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.
Charles and
Maurice
unite their
forces.
Essex at
Lestwith-
iel.

which places his army was quartered, when the king reached Launceston on the first of August^b. The next day Charles and Maurice united their forces; and at the same period Essex fixed his head quarters at Lestwithiel^c. The king in the mean time sent orders to Grenville to advance, and hem in Essex's army on the other side^d.

The parliamentary general naturally expected, that, when Charles marched against him to the west, his employers would send Waller or some other leader with an adequate force to relieve him, and attack the king's army in the rear. But in this, from whatever cause, he was disappointed. One motive, it may be, was the deadly animosity entertained by these chiefs against each other, affording small prospect that they would cooperate to a prosperous issue. The parliament however did send Middleton, with about two thousand five hundred horse; but he did not reach his destination till after the fate of Essex's expedition was decided^e.

King tries
to corrupt
the fidelity
of Essex.

Matters being thus far advanced, the king thought this a suitable time to make trial of the integrity of the parliamentary general. He wrote Essex a letter with his own hand. He told him, that the season was now arrived, when he had it in his power to redeem his country and the crown, and to confer the highest obligation on his king.

^b Walker, p. 49.^c Ibid. p. 50.^d Ibid. p. 51.^e Walker, p. 64, 65. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 691, 697.

He proposed a frank negociation, and that they should join their two armies without delay. He concluded with his favourite phrase, "engaging the word of a king," that he would confer both on him and his army the most unequivocal marks of his esteem, and for ever remain his faithful friend^f. The letter was dated on the sixth of August. It would certainly have proved an alarming event for the public cause, if Essex had listened to this insidious proposal.

The writer however had not taken due measure of Essex's mind. Twelve months before, this nobleman had hesitated as to the principle of the conduct he should adopt. But then he was in a very different position. He had a majority, or at least a great portion, of the house of lords acting in concert with him. He had the support of several leading members of the house of commons. The king was apparently engaged in a prosperous career; and it was doubtful whether his party might not ultimately prevail over the party of the people. In this situation it had occurred to Essex, whether it might not be a splendid and elevated action, in concert with his

^f Walker, p. 52. Rushworth, p. 691. The letter in Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 51¹, is unlike this in every respect, and is therefore a pure invention of the historian. This is the more singular, as the substance of his narrative in this place is plainly taken from Walker, where the story is related at large.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

His offers
are refused.Essex's ar-
my is sur-
rounded.

friends to interfere between the two, to mitigate the pretensions of each party, and lay down in a moderate and reasonable way, or what he might judge to be so, the law to both. But circumstances were now of a very different hue. An honourable political leader does not act, but in conjunction with his coadjutors and nearest allies. That would have appeared to him a dictatorship assumed for his country's good: this had all the air of an interested invitation to duplicity and treason. The very difficulties into which he was driven forbade him to lower his spirit and tone. He answered that it was not in the commission under which he acted to enter into a treaty, and that the best advice he could give to the king was to go to his parliament^g. The letter itself was immediately forwarded by Essex to the speaker of the house of lords^h.

Charles having made his experiment of the general, next turned himself to the soldiers of the parliamentary army, to try how far they could be seduced from their duty; but with no better successⁱ. He was more fortunate in his project of narrowing the enemy's quarters by stationing in the most effectual manner the different corps of his own army, and at length reduced Essex to the confined space between the river of Fowey

^g Walker, p. 56, 61.^h Journals, Aug. 14.ⁱ Walker, p. 62, 63.

and that of St. Blase, at the same time cutting off the means of supplying him with provisions by sea. The last attempt of the royalists was on the twenty-fifth of August to blow up Essex's magazine. This was very near taking effect ^k.

CHAP.
XIV.
1644.

The general wrote one more letter to the parliament, giving an account of this attempt, and concluding, "If succour comes not speedily, we shall be put to great extremity. If we were in a country where we could force the enemy to fight, it would be some comfort; but this place consists so much of passes, that he who can subsist longest, must have the better of it; which is a great grief to me, who have the command of so many gallant men ^l."

At length, the state of the army being wholly desperate, it was determined that the horse, in the night between the thirtieth and thirty-first of August, should attempt to make their way between two divisions of the king's army, in which they succeeded beyond all expectation, and directed their course for London ^m. Essex waited to see the success of this experiment, and then embarked by sea for Plymouth on the first of September ⁿ. It was necessary that his army should surrender upon terms; but there were several rea-

His cavalry escapes.

He withdraws himself by sea.

^k Ibid. p. 68. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 698. Journals of Commons, Sep. 2.

^l Rushworth, *ubi supra*.

^m Walker, p. 70. ⁿ Walker, p. 76. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 698.

CHAP.
XIV.

1644.

The in-
fantry lay
down their
arms.

sons why he did not chuse to be a party to that transaction. He had many enemies among those who adhered to his side of the question: he had given them grounds for ill construction, by his conduct in the autumn of last year, and in other particulars; and he felt great objection to the exposing himself to the importunities and expostulations of his relatives and former connections in the king's army. He therefore left to Skippon, one of the most gallant officers in the parliament's service, the negociation of the terms of surrender, which finally were, that Essex's forces should lay down their arms, the officers excepted, and that they should be convoyed to the nearest posts of their friends°. Thus the king obtained what he stood extremely in need of; and the parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair.

° Walker, p. 78, 79. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 705, 706.

CHAPTER XV.

SECOND BATTLE OF NEWBURY.—MANCHESTER AND CROMWEL.—SKELDON CRAWFORD.—CROMWEL PREFERS A CHARGE AGAINST THE LATTER.—ENQUIRY INTO THE AFFAIR AT DENNINGTON CASTLE.—RECRIMINATION BETWEEN MANCHESTER AND CROMWEL.—HOLLIS.—CROMWEL ACCUSED AS AN INCENDIARY.—ESSEX AND WALLER.—CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLE TO THE ROYAL CAUSE.—SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.—PASSES THE COMMONS.—IS REJECTED BY THE LORDS.—NEW MODEL OF THE ARMY.—FAIRFAX AND CROMWEL.—SECOND SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, RETROSPECTIVE ONLY IN ITS PROVISIONS.

Essex landed at Plymouth, where he remained two days, and then proceeded by sea to Portsmouth^a. From Plymouth he wrote to the committee of both kingdoms an account of his disaster, to which they returned an immediate answer, assuring him that the parliament's good affections to his person, and opinion of his fidelity

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

^a Walker, p. 80.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.
Essex's
army
recruited.

Essex at
Portsmouth.

Waller and
Manchester
ordered to
assist him.

Charles exposed to
difficulties.

and merit were no wise lessened by this reverse, and that they resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavours for repairing the loss they had sustained, and placing such a force under his command, as might best conduce to the successful termination of the war^b. They accordingly gave orders for the army of Essex, horse and foot, to be reassembled in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth and Southampton, and amply supplied with every thing that might fit them for immediate service. Waller, who had been recruited, and was on the point of marching for the west, was directed to cooperate with Essex, and Manchester was commanded from the associated counties to the same point, that all together they might annoy Charles in his march from Cornwall to Oxford, and, if possible, force him to a battle with their united forces.

The king, who seems to have had a genius better fitted for war, than for the policy of a civilised government, conducted his march with some degree of forecast and skill. His army had been victorious in Cornwall; but it was through a series of harassing endeavours and hard service: and he found them reduced in numbers, and in want of every equipment and necessary. The Cornish, who had zealously assisted him to expel the invader, were indisposed to follow him be-

^b Journals of Lords, Sep. 7.

yond their own limits. It was therefore requisite to return slowly through Devonshire and Dorsetshire, that he might collect such assistance as his friends had agreed to supply ^c. The king was also desirous to raise the siege, or relieve the garri- sons, of Basing House, and the castles of Dennington and Banbury, before he retired into winter-quarters ^d. All this in some degree he effected.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

The consequence of this however was to give time for the three armies of the parliament to unite, with the purpose of intercepting Charles in his proposed retreat into Oxford. He was now forced into a battle near Newbury, on the same spot where lord Falkland had fallen in the September of the year before. But the exertions of the parliament were not crowned with a success proportioned to their assiduity. The king, though with inferior numbers, came off with nearly equal success ^e; and, which was worse, having lodged his cannon after the battle in Dennington Castle, which overlooks the town of Newbury, he returned twelve days after, and carried them off in the face of the enemy without interruption ^f.

Second bat-
tle of New-
bury.

October 27.

King re-
gains his
artillery.

^c Walker, p. 82, 87. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 540.

^d Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 541, 542.

^e Walker, p. 111, 112, 113, 114. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 721, et seqq.

^f Walker, p. 118, 119. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 730, 731.

C H A P.
XV.

1644.
Dissentions
among the
parlia-
mentary
officers.

Much of Charles's success in these later marches and enterprises, was owing to the ill blood which existed between the parliamentary officers. To explain this it is necessary the narrative should go backward. Waller had originally been set up as a counterpoise to Essex, and there had never existed any cordiality between them. It was believed by many that it was owing to the indisposition of Waller that he had not sooner marched to the relief of the army in Cornwall; and Essex at least we may be sure was of that opinion. The disputes between the presbyterians and the independents had by this time found their way into the armies. Essex, as being of the privileged class, was a presbyterian; and Waller had lately veered to the same party. The refuge of the independents therefore was in the army of Manchester.

Manches-
ter and
Cromwel.

Manchester indeed, like Essex, was himself an adherent of the presbyterians. But Cromwel, his lieutenant-general, was the main stay and supporter of the partisans of liberty of conscience. And the respective character and dispositions of these two men secured to Cromwel the undisputed ascendancy. Manchester was a man who had always been greatly loved and esteemed; he had abilities adequate to all the ordinary concerns and transactions of life; but he did not possess that proud confidence in his own lights and decisions,

which; in its purest and most elevated form, is incident only to the special and singularly-gifted favourites of nature; he felt perhaps at all times less in his element, in leading, than being led. Cromwel on the other hand was precisely the man to be the immediate second to such a commander. He was not formed to hesitate and be irresolute in his determinations. He did not feel those clouds of the soul, which assimilate the individual that is subject to them, to a man whose vision is obscured, and who only guesses at and gropes out his way. He was firm of spirit, and relied on his own resources. At the same time he appears to have had a temper and a self-mastery which could adapt itself to all occasions. His manner, at least where such manner was requisite, was bland and conciliating. He could guide the man who was placed in a rank above him, without mortifying him, and dictate the measures he desired to see adopted, without parade or insolence. The army therefore of Manchester was the head-quarters of the independents; and the men who disdained the yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny, and who desired to worship with free and unshackled spirits, were eager to place themselves under the banner of Cromwel^s.

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

This had been the case perhaps, from the time when the army of the associated counties was

Skeldon
Crawford.

^s Baillie, Vol. II, p. 19, 60.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

formed, in the autumn of 1643. But the harmony of these two officers was broken by the appointment of a third in the beginning of the present year. The name of this man was Skeldon Crawford^h, and his office major-general of Manchester's armyⁱ. He was a Scot, and a zealous presbyterian. Manchester, as has been already said, was of the same persuasion: and it was therefore no difficult matter for his major-general to undertake to open his eyes, and shew him how insensibly Cromwel was leading him from the mark that his judgment approved. He also expostulated with his commander upon the sacred obligation of the covenant, and the perilous consequences that might at this time arise from giving umbrage to the Scots. In a word, Crawford wormed Cromwel out of the influence he had hitherto possessed with Manchester, and placed himself in his roomⁱ.—The first instance in which we hear of this Crawford relates to his absurd vanity in springing a mine at the siege of York, without giving any previous information either to Leven or Fairfax, in consequence of which the stratagem wholly failed, with the loss of three hundred men to the besiegers^k.

He asperses
Cromwel.

The name of Crawford is rendered in some degree memorable from the circumstance of his

^h Ibid. p. 49.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 60.

^k Baillie, Vol. II, p. 28. Rushworth, p. 631.

being the true and original authority for fastening on Cromwel the imputation of cowardice. The accusation is given at large in Hollis's Memoirs¹, and turns on the assertion that Cromwel with his body of horse stood still without making any charge, while the battle of Marston Moor was deciding, and that, when they did advance, Cromwel was no longer among them.

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

It was impossible that this man and Cromwel should serve together; nor was the latter of a disposition to temporise, when he was openly attacked with calumny and malignity. He brought an express accusation against the new major-general, and demanded a council of war. This was early in September^m. On the thirteenth Manchester, Cromwel and Crawford were all of them in London; Cromwel to urge his complaint; and the other two to procure the acquittal of the accusedⁿ.

Recrimination.

It is characteristic of Cromwel, that at the very moment that this question, so interesting to himself, was at issue, he on the same thirteenth of September moved and carried a vote in the house of commons, that the committee of lords and commons appointed to treat with the commissioners from Scotland, and the committee of the assembly, should take into consideration the differences in opinion of the members of the as-

Cromwel moves the parliament in favour of toleration.

¹ p. 15.

^m Baillie, Vol. II, p. 61.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 57, 61.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

sembly in point of church-government, and endeavour a union if it were possible; and, in case that could not be done, that they should essay to find out some methods by which tender consciences, who could not in all things submit to the common rule which might be established, might be borne with, consistently with scripture, and the public peace, that so the proceedings of the assembly might not be so much retarded^o.

Letter from the committee of both kingdoms to the commanders.

It deserves to be noticed that the committee of both kingdoms, on the tenth of September, addressed a letter to each of their principal commanders, recommending to their most serious consideration, that upon contemplation of the common interest every man would lay aside his private views, and heartily and unanimously join in all counsels and endeavours for the public service^p. This letter however did not prevent but that in three days afterwards, as we have seen, Manchester and the two next in command under him repaired to the capital upon the question of private differences which had broken out in his army. The labour of common friends to produce a reconciliation among them was vain^q. What was the issue of the contest at this time between Cromwel and Crawford I have not discovered.

Their advice is neglected.

^o Baillie, p. 57, 61. Journals of Commons.

^p Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 719.

^q Baillie, p. 61.

At the time of the battle which took place at Newbury, Essex was absent in London, as was alleged, from indisposition. A committee of the two houses, one peer and two commoners, was accordingly appointed to wait on him, to express their concern for his sickness, and the interest that the parliament took in his welfare^r.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.
Sickness
of Essex.

The popularity of Essex (and it was a great popularity) was of a peculiar sort. He was a singular favourite with the nobility; for he was of as high and gallant a spirit (according to his notions of a gallant character) as ever existed. He was a favourite with the citizen and the private soldier; for there was not a man in the island more condescending, more affable, and that knew better how to put those of a rank below him at their ease in his presence. At the same time he never lost his influence and authority; and the discipline and propriety of conduct of his troops were admirable. He had played fast and loose with the duties of his station, and the fidelity he owed to those by whom he had been placed in an office of trust. But, by a strange coincidence, this, which would have ruined any other man, was conducive to credit and consideration with him. That which from another would have been regarded as the bare performance of what could not be dispensed with, from him was scarcely ex-

Causes of
the atten-
tion that
was paid
him.

^r Journals, Oct. 26. Whitlocke, p. 103.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

pected, and therefore was viewed with admiration and gratitude. In autumn 1643 he balanced between his employers, and the king against whom he was commissioned to fight; and it was almost impossible to foresee in what way the doubtful contention would end. In autumn 1644, driven into a corner of the island, with no power for his army, burning as they were with a fervent military spirit, either to fight or to escape, he was courted by the king with every imaginable artifice, to betray his trust; and he refused. If he had yielded, he would have been infamous, as long as history had recorded his name. But, because he continued true to the most sacred obligations, because, when he had run headlong into wilful disaster, he refused to extricate himself by a dishonourable concession, he was almost worshipped as a God; and the people of England thought they could never sufficiently celebrate him as the model of an immaculate character.

Affair of
Denning-
ton Castle
investi-
gated.

The house of commons was greatly dissatisfied with the affair at Dennington Castle, and on Saturday, the twenty-third of November, made an order that on the following Monday Waller and Cromwel, two of the principal officers who were members of that house, should declare their whole knowledge and information respecting the late proceedings of the conjoined armies. What was the sum of Waller's declaration does not appear: but Cromwel seems to have taken hold of the

Journals.
Cromwel
accuses
Man-
chester.

occasion thus afforded him, to make an express charge against the commander under whom he served. He alleged "that Manchester had always been backward to engagements in battle, and against ending the war by the sword, and had been the advocate of such a peace to which a victory in the field would have been an obstacle : that, since the taking of York, (as if he thought the king was now low enough, and the parliament too high) he had declined and shifted off whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, and especially at Dennington Castle : that, before his conjunction with the other armies, he had drawn his army into, and detained it in, such situations as were favourable to the enemy's designs, against many commands of the committee of both kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of those commands ; and since, sometimes against the council of war, and sometimes deluding the council, had neglected one opportunity with pretence of another, and that again of a third, and at last persuading them that it was better not to fight at all *."

Whitlocke observes, that, in the affair of Dennington Castle, Cromwel seemed (but cautiously enough) to lay more blame upon the officers of Essex's army than upon any other. *He adds,

* Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 732. Clarendon, as usual, has added to this narrative a multitude of forgeries, Vol. II, p. 561.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.
Manches-
ter recri-
minates.

that Cromwel's narrative gave great satisfaction to the assembly to which it was addressed ^t.

The day after that in which Cromwel entered into these explanations, Manchester signified to the house of lords, that he had lately been in employment in the armies, and that certain proceedings of those armies had elsewhere been made a subject of censure: he therefore begged the house would appoint a day on which he might give an account of those transactions. The next day but one was accordingly fixed ^u.

The narrative of the earl of Manchester consisted principally of recrimination, accusing Cromwel, by his tardiness and disaffection, of being more than any other person the cause that the king had carried off his ordnance from Dennington Castle without molestation ^w. Not contented however with thus defending himself, Manchester added a separate statement of certain speeches of Cromwel, of deep concern to the peerage of England, and to the good understanding subsisting between England and Scotland ^x. The sum of these speeches appears to have been, that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester was made plain Mr. Montagu; that the Scots had crossed the Tweed for no other purpose than to establish presbyterianism, and that in that

^t Whitlocke, p. 116. ^u Journals. ^w Rushworth, p. 733.

^x Journals of Lords, Nov. 28.

cause he would as soon draw his sword against them, as against the king; and lastly, that it was his purpose to form an army of sectaries, which might dictate to both king and parliament such conditions as they should think proper^y. Manchester delivered both these narratives in writing to the house on the second of December^z.

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

Matters were plainly now come to extremities between the two parties. Essex attended the house of lords on the day appointed for Manchester's narrative, for the first time since his return from Cornwall; and he continued to do so during the following days^a. There is reason to think that the narrative itself came from the pen of Hollis^b; and it is easy to conceive how so active and bitter a partisan would heighten the tale, and rake together scandals, to fasten on the mild and exemplary temper of Manchester. No party pen in any age ever went beyond the fury and rancour of that of Hollis. He had the honour to be the first to record, as Crawford was the first to invent, the story of Cromwel's cowardice. He says he heard it several times from Crawford's own lips^c; a proof how he loved the tale, and what agreement of spirit he felt between himself and the author, Skeldon Crawford and Denzil Hollis fabricated between them the accusation to which

^y Hollis, p. 18. Baillie, Vol. II, p. 76.

^a Journals.

^b Hollis.

^z Journals.

^c Ibid. p. 15.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

they persuaded the amiable Manchester on this occasion to annex his signature. What portion of truth there was in it, it is impossible fully to pronounce. It is probable it was not without foundation, however it might be exaggerated by the colouring they bestowed on it. Manchester would never have been induced to adopt it, if he had not been persuaded that, if not true in the precise form of words, it was at least constructively agreeable to the truth. In the mean time it is very certain, that Cromwel lost nothing in the opinion of the public at large through the attempts that were now made to blacken and destroy his character.

The narrative of Cromwel was by the house of commons referred to a committee, who were directed to send for papers and examine witnesses as to the whole merits of the question^d. In the following week the lords communicated to them the justification of Manchester, and his accusation of his second in command. Immediately the house appointed a committee, of which Hollis and several of his friends, together with some leaders of the independent party, were members, to enquire whether it were not a breach of privilege, and contrary to the fundamental constitution of the two houses, that an accusation against one of their members should be originated in the

^d Journals, Nov. 25.

house of lords*. But the progress of both these committees was interrupted by the introduction of measures of a stronger kind, which seemed to render the further enquiries of the committees unnecessary.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

While these things were going on in the two houses of parliament, another consultation was held under the auspices of Essex, and within his house, by Essex himself, and Hollis, with two leaders of the presbyterian party (sir John Meyrick, and sir Philip Stapleton), and several, officers of the army and others, to whom were joined the commissioners on the part of the Scottish parliament. The object of this consultation was respecting the expediency of proceeding against Cromwel as an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland. One evening very late, Whitlocke and Maynard, as two able and impartial English lawyers, were sent for to be present at this consultation. It was particularly provided for in the solemn league and covenant, that all persons who should be found to be incendiaries, contrary to the covenant, and dividing one of the kingdoms from the other, should be brought to trial and receive condign punishment, according to the degree of their offences, and as the judicatories of each kingdom respectively should find convenient.

Cromwel
accused as
an incendiary by the
Scots.

* Ibid. Dec. 4.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

Hollis, and one or two others, spoke earnestly to the question, and quoted words of Cromwel shewing him to be an incendiary, declaring that they would willingly, each for himself, and all conjointly, be upon the accusation against him. But Whitlocke and Maynard, though they allowed of the term incendiary, which however they observed was not of frequent occurrence in our law-books, yet declared that they did not know any passages or words of Cromwel, that might suffice to fasten that accusation upon him. They added that it would be of injurious consequence, that the commander in chief of the armies of the parliament, or the commissioners from Scotland, should enter up an accusation of that kind, and afterwards fail in establishing it; and they intreated the persons who had done them the honour of consulting them, to consider, that Cromwel was a man of quick and subtle parts, possessing great favour and interest in the house of commons, and not wanting in friends in the house of peers, nor among the officers and soldiers of the armies of the parliament. In fine, after a grave debate, it was determined to lay the question aside, and proceed no further for the present.

The accusation dismissed.

Summary of the state of the parliamentary armies.

Such was the perilous state in which the armies of the commonwealth were placed, so far as re-

lated to their principal officers. Essex was found deficient in several of the principal qualities of a commander, and was no less notoriously unwilling to prosecute the advantages of his employers as far as they might be carried. Essex however was exemplary in discipline^h; he was eminently popular in his manners, and at the same time full of all that punctilious honour and humanity which he considered as closely connected with his high birth. He knew how to be indulgent, where indulgence was becoming; and at the same time he knew how to make himself feared as well as loved. Waller, who had in the preceding year been set up as his rival, was enterprising and active; but his discipline was so notoriously relaxed, that his soldiers were a disgrace to the name, and a pest to the district in which they were stationed, and from mere laxity and want of system were accustomed to melt away and cease to be an incorporated army after the lapse of one or two monthsⁱ. Of Manchester enough has been said. It seemed certain that the war could never be brought to a prosperous termination, so long as the conduct of it should remain in the present hands.

Every thing called upon the lovers of their country, and the sincere adherents of the parlia- Resources
of the king.

^h Walker, p. 26. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 495.

ⁱ Walker, p. 26, 64. Clarendon, *ubi supra*.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

mentary cause, for a strong measure. Nothing less than a complete renovation of the military system of the commonwealth could promise a favourable and speedy issue to the contest. The prospects of the king indeed had been considerably obscured by the events of this year's campaign in the north. His facilities for raising money were decisively inferior to those of the parliament; and the zeal of his followers could enter into no comparison with the zeal of those engaged on the other side, who fought for all they held dear in civil liberty, and valuable in religion. But the king had his advantages. Considerable ability had been displayed in his campaign in the midland counties and in the west. He regarded the Irish Catholics as an inexhaustible hive of recruits to his diminished force; and he looked to the powerful diversion which Montrose promised to effect in Scotland. The queen was at this time busy in the endeavour to send him over large supplies from the continent. But what was of greatest moment was, the doubt whether the parliamentary generals themselves were not in some degree fighting his battles. Both Essex and Manchester were strongly reported to have expressed their fears, lest the king should be brought too low to give plausibility and effect to such a compromise as they desired. This was indeed a perilous circumstance. Generals who declined fighting, or who, when engaged, were

Sinister
views of Es-
sex and
Man-
chester.

fearful that their victory might prove more complete than they desired, were ill servants to the friends of liberty. The coldness of the principal officers must inevitably communicate a chill in some way to their followers. The gamester who has determined not suddenly to win the stake, can scarcely conduct his schemes so perfectly, but that a skilful antagonist may unexpectedly seize some opening, and drive him to an irretrievable loss. The game too of these leaders wore a double face. They were still considering whether they could not make terms with the enemy, very different from those which would be approved by their constituents in the house of commons. Essex had refused to enter into correspondence with the king, when shut up by himself, and at a distance from all his confidential connections, in Cornwall. But he had shewn that he had no insuperable objection to negotiate, if supported by a majority of the house of lords, and a respectable minority of the commons. And, since the contests had grown so bitter and irreconcilable between the presbyterians and independents, strengthened by personal animosities, and built on the great principles of religious unity on one side, and integrity of conscience on the other, perhaps neither party, but certainly not the party of the noble and the opulent, would have scrupled to supersede in an urgent case the ordinary forms of proceeding, and so to have baffled a com-

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

petitor they detested, of his supposed perverse and iniquitous purposes. Thus the army, which the parliament placed under the direction of those in whom they confided, might be made an instrument to defeat the ends for which they had been enrolled and kept up, and to restore the king. The spirit indeed which had been raised in favour of the best principles of civil and religious liberty, was so grounded in a certain portion of the community, as perhaps to be in no danger of being speedily routed and overcome: but it was the duty of those who had taken that spirit and its ends under their protection, to secure to it the speediest and the most unquestionable victory.

A remedy
proposed.

The men to whom we are indebted for the scheme that was now carried into execution, appear to have been Cromwel, St. John, and Vane. It was opened in the house of commons on the ninth of December. On that day the house resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to the intolerable burthens of the war, and the little prospect there was of its being speedily brought to a conclusion. In this committee there was a general silence for a good space of time, when Cromwel rose to address them. Among other things, he especially recommended to their prudence, not to insist upon a complaint as to the oversight of any commander in chief upon any occasion whatsoever. He observed, that he was

himself conscious of oversights, and well knew that they could scarcely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the cause of these things, he exhorted the committee to apply itself to some general remedy, which, without in any way countenancing the particular censure of individuals, might best in future shut out those evils under which they were at present suffering^k.

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

Another member followed Cromwel in the same train of observations. He remarked, that their victories, so gallantly gotten, and in which they had so eminently experienced the favour of heaven, had been of no avail; that a summer's triumph had proved but a winter's story, and the game, however it seemed won in autumn, was to be played over again in the spring. The fault he conceived to lie, in the forces of the parliament being under several commanders, and the little correspondence and good understanding which subsisted among the chieftains.

A third member then rose, and proposed a resolution, which was supported by Vane and others, that no member of either house of parliament should during the war have or execute any office or command, civil or military; and that an ordinance should be brought in for that purpose^l.

Self-denying ordinance.

^k Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 3, 4.

^l Ibid. The second speech is in Rushworth anonymous. The name of the third speaker is Zouch Tate.

The account which is given of this matter in Clarendon, is exceed-

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

This ordinance afterwards obtained the name of the self-denying ordinance.

There were many obvious arguments in favour

„

ingly different from what is here related. He says, that “the independent party knew not how to propose to the parliament the great alterations they intended. In the end, they resolved to pursue the method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the church. They agreed therefore in the two houses that they would have a solemn fast-day, in which they would seek God, and desire his assistance to lead them out of their perplexities. [This fast was really appointed for the eighteenth of December, nine days later than that upon which the motion had been made for bringing in the self-denying ordinance. See the Journals of both Houses.]

“When the fast-day came,” proceeds Clarendon, “(which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches,) the preachers, let their texts be what they would, told the parliament plainly, that there was as great pride, as great ambition, as many private ends, and as little zeal and affection for the public among them, as they had ever imputed to the court, and that, while they pretended, at the public cost, and out of the purses of the poor people, to make a general reformation, their chief care was to grow great and rich themselves.

“When the two houses met together, the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the faces of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them [What, the two houses?], that, if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday, and that what they had felt and heard could proceed only from the spirit of God. He told them that the suggestions of yesterday, none of which had ever entered into his spirit before, had raised in him other reflections than he had previously entertained.—When sir Henry Vane had sat down, Cromwel rose, and proceeded in a similar strain.” Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 564, et seqq.

Now Clarendon well knew that there was not a word of truth in all this detail. He intended it only for mummery, and a burlesque

of this measure. It was alleged against it by Whitlocke, that among the Greeks and Romans the greatest offices, both of war and peace, were

CHAP.
XV.

1644.
Arguments
in its

upon the debates of the times. And it is thus that history is too frequently written.

It is time that the character of Clarendon as an historian should be understood. The following story, which occurs in Clarendon's Life, p. 69, will materially contribute to that purpose.

“His majesty one day, speaking with the lord Falkland very graciously concerning Mr. Hyde, said he had such a peculiar style, that he should know any thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a stranger, among a multitude of writings by other men. The lord Falkland answered, He doubted his majesty could hardly do that; because he himself, who had so long conversation and friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with things written by him, of which he could never have suspected him. To which the king replied, He would lay him an angel, that let the argument be what it would, he should never bring him a sheet of paper of his writing, but he would discover it to be his. The lord Falkland told him it should be a wager; but neither the one nor the other ever mentioned it to Mr. Hyde. Some days after, the lord Falkland brought several packets which he had just received from London, to the king, before he had opened them, as he used to do; and, after he had read his several letters of intelligence, he took out the prints of Diurnals of speeches, and the like, and among the rest there were two speeches, the one made by the lord Pembroke for an accommodation, and the other by the lord Brooke against it.

“The king was very much pleased with reading the speeches, and said, He did not think that Pembroke could speak so long together; though every word he said was so much his own, that nobody else could make it. And so after he had pleased himself with reading the speeches over again, and then passed to other papers, the lord Falkland whispered in his ear, desiring he would pay him the angel; which his majesty in the instant apprehending, blushed,

CHAP. conferred upon their senators^m. But this state-
 XV. ment is somewhat fallacious. In Sparta no one

1644.

and, putting his hand into his pocket, gave it to him. The king was very merry upon it, and would often afterwards call upon Mr. Hyde for a [forged] speech or a letter, which he prepared upon several occasions; and the king always commanded them to be printed. "And he [Clarendon] was often wont to say many years after, that he would be very glad he could make a collection of all those papers, which he could never do, though he got many of them."

Clarendon has also named Nathaniel Fiennes and Henry Marten among those "who spoke more and warmer in favour of the self-denying ordinance than those spoke who opposed it (p. 605)," though Fiennes was at that time in a state of voluntary banishment on the continent, and Marten was an expelled member of parliament, and was not restored till two years after. By the way, the counting Marten, as Clarendon does here, among the independents, shews how much they mistake who consider independents as a name for fanatical enthusiasts.

Yet Clarendon, such as he is, is one of our principal authorities for the history of the times in which he lived. He was, as the thing is vulgarly understood, a man of honour and integrity; and, like other eminent forgers, he made a great parade of his principles of morality and religion. He is perhaps a good deal to be relied on for the things which passed under his own inspection; for the rest his information was neither ample nor accurate, and he was not always very scrupulous what he said respecting them. He undertook, as he says, "a difficult work, to write the history of the civil wars, with the approbation of the king, and for his vindication." Vol. II, p. 627. I should myself be particularly disposed to depend upon him, when he betrays things, which he very often does, disadvantageous to the party he has undertaken to vindicate.

It must not pass unnoticed that Hume has inserted Clarendon's forged debate on the self-denying ordinance in his History.

^m Whitlocke, p. 119, 120.

could be a senator (the senate consisted of only twenty-eight persons) till he had completed his sixtieth year. We may be sure therefore that the commanders of their armies were seldom or ever senators. In Athens and Rome the public officers were all chosen by the assemblies of the people. The cases therefore were by no means parallel. The parliament at this time in existence, extended its authority over every department in the state. They exercised the absolute appointment of all public officers. It was an awful responsibility that fell to their lot; and it may well be supposed that they did wisely in placing this check upon the abuse of their authorities.

CHAP.
XV.
1644.

It must not however be disguised that this measure was adopted less from its direct and avowed tendency, than from the collateral advantages that it was conceived would accrue from it. It offered an uninvincible method of removing from the command of their armies those persons, whom the civil conductors of the war had so much reason to distrust. It would operate to renovate the whole machine, and to infuse new vigour into the military system. Things had gone on too much in a slow and well-worn track, the marches and undertakings of the war being conducted by the old soldiers, and the men of birth, who, though they were now servants of the parliament, had formerly been courtiers. The sweeping clause, which excluded from command all members of

Its immediate advantages.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

either house of parliament must necessarily place the conduct of the field in the hands of new men, and men who must be stimulated to great achievements by the consideration, that the law under which they obtained their appointments, without going the length of individual censure, yet implied a general dissatisfaction with what had already been done.

Passes the
commons.

The ordinance was conducted through the house of commons with success: It was opposed by Hollis, and the other heads of the presbyterian party. A motion was made in the committee, that Essex, the commander in chief, should be excepted from the operation of this law; but it was decided in the negative^a. It was carried up to the lords on the twenty first; and in that house it lingered for a considerable time. It was felt that this was no ordinary measure, and that a difference between the two houses on so momentous a point might involve the most serious consequences^b. Three times the house of commons

Debated in
the lords.

^a Journals of Commons, Dec. 17.

^b It was an extremely delicate and somewhat perilous undertaking, to preserve the concord between the two houses during the successive stages of the opposition to king Charles. The commons were continually rising, and the lords subsiding, in character and authority, till the whole terminated in 1649 in the abolition of the lords. Very often in different periods of the contest the lords were obliged sullenly to yield their assent to a measure, which they had at first strenuously opposed. This was partly owing to the nature of the two assemblies, and partly to the memorable thinness

sent up messages, desiring expedition, and representing that any delay in passing the ordinance would be dangerous, might be destructive^p. A select committee was nominated by the lords to consider of alterations to be introduced into the ordinance^q. The committee consisted of ten lords; and, what is most singular, four of these, Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh, were persons to whose disadvantage the law would particularly operate. A paper of reasons originated in this committee against the substance of the ordinance. In this paper it was observed that it deprives the peers of that honour, which in all ages had been given them, since they had evermore been principally active, to the effusion of their blood, and the hazard of their estates and fortunes, in regaining

of the house of lords at the time of the most momentous events. There is a very strong passage recorded in the Journals of the Commons, so early as December 3, 1641, somewhat more pointed than we can perceive an occasion that called for it. In it they speak generally of bills that had been sent up to the lords for their concurrence, which much concerned the safety of the kingdom, but which had not yet obtained their consent; and they add that, the house of commons "being the representative body of the whole nation, and the lords but as particular persons, coming to parliament in a particular capacity, if they shall not pass these acts and other measures, then it will be requisite for the house of commons, together with such lords as may more deeply feel the urgency of affairs, to join together in a representation to the throne on the subject."

^p Jan. 6, 10, 13.^q Dec. 30.

CHAP.
XV.

1644.

and maintaining the fundamental laws of the land, and the rights and liberties of the subject; nor was there ever any battle fought for these ends, wherein the nobility were not employed in places of chiefest trust and command. It was added, that the proposed measure was by no means equal to the lords and commons of England, since, though some of the gentry and commons were excepted as members of parliament, yet that the rest might have liberty to discharge their duty whether in civil offices or the field; whereas the ordinance was proposed to operate as an universal disqualification of the whole hereditary nobility of the country. Finally, after repeated conferences between the two houses, the ordinance was rejected by the lords on the thirteenth of January.

1645.
It is reject-
ed.

New model
of the army.

One of the complaints urged by the house of peers in their paper of reasons against the ordinance was, that the tendency of the measure appeared to them to be such, that in attempting to put it in force every thing in the armies would be likely to be thrown into the most alarming state of confusion; and therefore, till the new model of what was proposed to succeed should be produced to them, they were so placed as not to be competent fully to judge of the good or evil likely to result. This suggestion was immediately laid hold of by the authors of the measure, and that with such promptitude, that, on the day after the

delivery of the paper of reasons from the lords, the committee of both kingdoms was called upon to report to the commons the new model according to which the army was to be constituted.

CHAP.
XV.
1645.

It is a memorable and an extremely curious circumstance, that the project of the new model of the army was made to originate from the committee of both kingdoms. This argues much mastery and skill in the party which was now rising into the direction of the state. The original kernel and root of this committee was in the four Scots, who were sent from Edinburgh, principally to take care that the presbyterian discipline should be established in all its rigour and fulness in the southern kingdom. A great majority of the English members of the committee were originally presbyterian. Yet the project of the self-denying ordinance and the new model, was conceived by the independents. We must therefore believe that the necessity for a renovation, a revivification of the army, was so evident, as upon this one question to have brought over many of the presbyterians to the side of the independents. What was the precise arrangement for voting in the committee we are not able to ascertain: it is impossible not to suppose that every measure that issued from it, must have had the concurrence of a majority of the commissioners from Scotland.

Proposed
by the com-
mittee of
the two
kingdoms.

It must therefore have been of no small importance on the present occasion, that the marquis of

Marquis of
Argyle.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

Sir Henry
Vane.

Argyle just at this juncture arrived in London, and sat and voted among those commissioners^r. He had for nearly two years past had the principal power in the government of his country. A great intimacy and confidence had commenced between him and Vane, during the residence of the latter in Edinburgh in the autumn of 1643^r. Argyle was a staunch and inflexible adherent to presbytery; in this point he differed from Vane. But there was another point in which they fully agreed; a repugnance to half measures, an aversion to the conducting the war in an irresolute and temporising spirit, and a determination to push the advantages obtained in the field as far as they would go. There were also certain features of character in which the English and Scottish statesman resembled each other: they were both of a subtle and refining spirit, taking greater pleasure in the ascendancy of intellect in the closet, than of prowess in the field. They were judged by their contemporaries to be men of a depth and mystery of purpose very difficult to be fathomed. Yet they were both of them true patriots, and men of great integrity of sentiment. A genuine frankness upon some very interesting and momentous occasions cannot be affirmed of either; and we shall not be likely to be erroneous, if we assert of Vane, that he did not

^r Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 628.

at this crisis disclose to his noble friend every thing that was passing in his mind on the subject.

CHAP.
XV.
1645.

—One point that must not be passed unnoticed is, that the Scottish commissioners, previously to the arrival of Argyle, had exerted themselves with intemperate violence and zeal for the destruction of Cromwel; now they concurred in a measure, in which, as will presently be seen, he was personally advantaged more than any other individual.

The scheme of the new model was laid before the house of commons on the ninth of January; and the names of the principal officers who were to have command in this army were put to the vote on the twenty-first. In each of the parliamentary armies there had been three principal, or field, officers, the general who commanded the entire army, the lieutenant-general who commanded the horse, and the major-general, or, as he was then styled, the serjeant major-general. It is sufficiently singular that at this time when the names of the general, the major-general, and twenty-four colonels were voted, the appointment of lieutenant-general was passed over in silence. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named for commander in chief, and Skippon for his major-general. It cannot reasonably be doubted that there was a special reason for keeping the name of the officer second in command in reserve; and that reason, as appeared in

Officers of
the new
model
named.

Journals.

CHAP.
XV.1645.
Cromwel.

the sequel, was that the situation was destined for Cromwel^t.

It was undoubtedly a strong measure, that, at the very moment that a law was pressing, to exclude all members of either house of parliament from holding offices civil or military, a single exception, and that of so conspicuous a nature, should have been determined on. But there are emergencies of so striking a nature, as to supersede all

^t The colonels of regiments, and the other officers, were at first expressly named by vote in the house of commons. But upon further deliberation it was thought proper to refer their nomination to the commander in chief, subject to the approbation or otherwise of the two houses of parliament. The list however, as it was passed by the commons, Jan. 21, and as finally approved on the nomination of Fairfax by the lords, March 18, differs only in one or two names. The final catalogue of colonels is as follows [it is much to be regretted that they are given in both instances without their Christian names]. The new model was composed of eleven regiments of horse, each to consist of six hundred men, one regiment of dragoons, to contain one thousand men, and twelve regiments of foot, of twelve hundred men each. The colonels of horse were, Fairfax, Middleton, Sheffield, Fleetwood, Rossiter, Vermuyden, Sidney [Algernon], sir Robert Pyc, Whalley, Graves and sir Michael Livesey; of dragoons, Okey; and of foot, Fairfax, Skippon, Holborne, Crawford [this could scarcely be Skeldon Crawford, above spoken of], Barclay, Montagu, Aldridge, Pickering, Fortescue, Ingoldsby, Rainsborough and Welden. Among the inferior officers occur the names of Ireton, Desborough, Harrison, Huntingtop and Hewson. We shall cease to wonder at the list's appearing less brilliant than that of the original army in 1642, when we recollect that all members of either house of parliament were expressly excluded from it.

rules. Fairfax was an admirable officer : but it will be decided by all posterity, as it was decided by their contemporaries, that it was impossible to name a man in the island, of so consummate a military genius, so thoroughly qualified to conduct the war with a victorious event, as Cromwel. He was also, whatever some historians have said on the subject, of scarcely less weight in the senate than in the field. Cromwel was besides an accomplished statesman. There was in this respect a striking contrast between him and Fairfax. Fairfax, richly endowed with those qualities which make a successful commander, was in council as innocent and unsuspecting as a child. He had great coolness of temper, an eye to take in the whole disposition of a field, and to remark all the advantages which its positions afforded, and a temper happily poised between the yielding and severe, so as to command the most ready obedience, and to preserve a perfect discipline. Fairfax was formed for the executive branch of the art military in the largest sense of that term. But in all that related to government and a state, he seemed intuitively to feel the desire to be guided. He was not acquainted with the innermost folds of the human character, and was therefore perpetually liable to the chance of being led and misled. He was guided by Cromwel ; he was guided by his wife ; and, if he had fallen into hands less qualified for the office, he would have been guided by them.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

Characters
of Fairfax
and Crom-
wel.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

But Cromwel saw into the hearts of men. He could adapt himself, in a degree at least exceeding every character of modern times, to the persons with whom he had dealings. He was most at home perhaps with the soldiers of his army: he could pray with them; he could jest with them: in every thing by which the heart of a man could in a manner be drawn out of his bosom to devote itself to the service of another, he was a consummate master. It was not because he was susceptible only of the rugged and the coarse, that he was so eminently a favourite with the private soldier. He was the friend of the mercurial and light-hearted Henry Marten. He gained for a time the entire ascendancy over the gentle, the courteous, the well-bred, and the manly earl of Manchester. He was the sworn brother of sir Henry Vane. He deceived Fairfax; he deceived Milton.

At this time, and instructed as we are by the page of events, every friend of liberty must regret that Cromwel was made the splendid exception to the otherwise unlimited operation of the principle of the self-denying ordinance. It had been better to have suffered a material risk as to the prosperous conclusion of the war, than to have employed so dangerous an instrument. But, at the period of which we are treating, and for several years after, not one of the most enlightened friends of liberty distrusted Cromwel. It would have appeared scarcely less than suicide to the common-

wealth, to have laid aside the man who, above all others, was best able to render her cause victorious.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

The ordinance for the new model passed the house of lords on the fifteenth of February^u, creating an army of twenty-two thousand men: these forces to be principally drafted from the old armies.

A second self-denying ordinance was now brought in, but of a less extensive character than that which had previously been rejected by the lords. The former forbade any member of either house of parliament from bearing any office civil or military during the war. The present did not carry its prospect into the future, but contented itself with merely discharging members of parliament from the offices they now held. Perhaps this variation had a view to Cromwel, as the law thus modified did not expressly forbid the re-appointment of officers so discharged. Exceptions were also voted, as in the first self-denying ordinance, in favour of the commissioners of the great seal, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and of the revenue. This ordinance passed into a law on the third of April^w.

Second self-denying ordinance.

At length, tardily and unwillingly, the day before the passing the ordinance, Essex, Manchester and Denbigh appeared in the house of lords, and resigned their commissions^x. On the same day

Resignation of Essex and Manchester.

^u Journals.

^w Journals of Lords.

^x Journals.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

on which Fairfax was named commander in chief, the house of commons had agreed to refer it to the committee for the armies, to consider of some mark of honour to be set upon Essex, and some further recompence, to remain as an acknowledgement from the parliament, and a testimony to posterity, of his great and faithful services^y. Again, when these noblemen resigned their commissions, the house of commons named a committee to take into consideration the services and fortunes of the earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh, in such a manner as might express the value the parliament entertained of their faithfulness and industry in the discharge of the trusts reposed in them^z. Essex died on the fourteenth of September 1646, and on that occasion every kind of respect was shewn to his memory. On receiving the intelligence of his death, both houses immediately adjourned themselves to the day following; they ordered that his

^y Journals of Commons, Jan. 21.

^z Ibid. April 2. It is stated by Clarendon, "that the two houses, on the day following Essex's resignation, went to attend him at Essex House, and to return him their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise." Vol. II, p. 629. But there is no trace of this in the Journals.

Hume also relates, that on this occasion "a pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex." But this representation is founded in a mistake. On the twenty-sixth of May 1643, an ordinance passed the two houses, taking notice that, whereas this nobleman had been despoiled of his goods and estates to a great

funeral rites should be defrayed at the public expence ; and, when the ceremony took place, both houses in full assembly attended his remains to the grave.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

Clarendon pretends, both in the question of the abolishing of episcopacy, and in this of the self-denying ordinance, that the question was carried, in opposition to the sense of a clear majority of the members present, by the subtle wiles and stratagems of what was in reality the weaker party. To state this assertion in plain and unvarnished terms, is to refute it. No one has pretended to talk, particularly in this latter instance of the self-denying ordinance, of tumults, of crowds assembled round the two houses of the legislature, and an attempt to overawe them into compliance. The situation of the lords indeed was somewhat critical. The power and authority of the lower house had in reality swallowed up theirs. Yet the commons

Temper of
the house of
commons.

and of the
house of
lords.

value at Chartley in the county of Stafford by the troops fighting for the king against the parliament, it was therefore ordained as a compensation for his losses, that the yearly sum of ten thousand pounds should be paid him out of the proceeds of the delinquents' estates. And now again, 21 May 1645, an ordinance was brought into the house of commons, stating that this annuity had not been paid as it ought to have been, and therefore directing, in consideration of Essex's heroic valour, prudent courage, and unspotted fidelity in his high office, that this amount with all arrears accruing upon it, should be now and hereafter fully discharged. This ordinance was passed into a law in the following autumn. Journals of Lords, September 26, 1645.

CHAP.
XV.

1645.

observed a certain deference to them ; for, having annihilated in the seat of government the prerogative of the king, they would have been full loath to part with the countenance of the other branch of the legislature. They therefore at this time voted a declaration, which they ordered to be carried up to the house of peers, that they held themselves obliged, by the fundamental laws of the land, and by their several protestations and covenants, to preserve the rights and privileges of the peerage equally with their own, and that they felt the deepest care, and would use every possible exertion, to preserve that good understanding between the houses, which had hitherto so happily prevailed^a. On the other hand, the peers who had hitherto sat in parliament, felt that they had gone too far in the civil contention to be at liberty to retrace their steps ; they knew the vindictive character of the king ; they had seen it exemplified in his treatment of the earls of Bedford, Holland and Cláre ; and they resolved to adhere to the party with which they had various claims of merit, rather than to go over to the other by whom they had again and again been designated as traitors. Under these circumstances, the peers probably in successive instances decided against their own inclinations, for fear of an irreparable breach with

^a Journals, March 24.

the commons : but it cannot reasonably be doubted that the latter, particularly from the time that the violent royalists withdrew themselves, to the period at which we are arrived, pronounced their decision on the different questions that arose, agreeably to the sense of the majority of the members present.

CHAP.
XV.
1645.

CHAPTER XVI.

TREATY OF UXBRIDGE.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION
OF MACMAHON, MACGUIRE, CAREW, AND THE
HOTHAMS.—ATTAINDER OF LAUD.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

Proposi-
tions voted
as the basis
of a safe
and well
grounded
peace.

WHEN the two houses of parliament rejected the king's overtures for a treaty in the beginning of the year 1644, because in those overtures they were not acknowledged as a parliament, and the lords and commons assembled at Oxford were spoken of in the same style as themselves, it was however thought necessary that some method should be adopted for preparing a statement of the grounds upon which a just and safe peace might be established, so as to secure the rights of the people in both kingdoms, and to cut off occasions of future misunderstanding between the king and his subjects. The question was accordingly referred to the committee of both kingdoms; and propositions, twenty-six in number, were drawn up by sir Archibald Johnstone of Wariston^a, one of the four commissioners of Scotland, a man whose power in the government of the northern

^a Baillie, Vol. II, p. 7.

kingdom at this time was only inferior, if at all inferior, to that of the marquis of Argyle^b. The propositions met with various delays. Being at length sanctioned by the two houses, Wariston, by whom they had been digested, was sent down to present them to the parliament of Scotland, which met on the fourth of June^c. He was entirely successful in the subject of his mission, and returned to London, with new instructions, and letters from the parliament, and the general assembly of the church, of Scotland, in the close of the following month^d. The propositions were sent to the king at the close of the campaign, by the hands of six commissioners from the parliament, Denbigh and Maynard of the house of lords, and lord Wenman, Pierrepont, Hollis and Whitlocke of the commons, with three of the committee for Scotland, and met Charles on his arrival at Oxford on the twenty-third of November^e.

Sent to the
king.

The position in which the king stood at this

^b Life of Burnet, by his Son.

^c Baillie, Vol. II, p. 21. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 933.

^d Baillie, Vol. II, p. 51. The parliament of Scotland at this time appointed a new set of commissioners to concert with the committee of the lords and commons of England, which, when thus united, was called the committee of both kingdoms; Loudon, Argyle, and Balmerino, for the nobles; Wariston, sir Charles Erskine, and George Dundas, for the barons; and sir John Smith, Hugh Kennedy, and Robert Barclay, for the boroughs; with lord Maitland, supernumerary. Journals of Lords, August 20.

^e Whitlocke, p. 111, 112. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 553.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

Disposi-
tion of
Charles ad-
verse to
peace.

season demands our attention. He was under the necessity at all times of pretending to desire a treaty. We have seen what was his real disposition at the period of the negotiations at Oxford at the end of 1642, where he held himself obliged to shew in some degree a fair face to the deputies of the parliament, at the same time that he had bound himself to consent to no terms without the concurrence of the queen, who was then in Holland. He had now tried the fortune of three campaigns; he had lost the whole north of England; his resources were narrowed and in a manner exhausted. But his perseverance was not subdued. He begged the queen to believe, that he had “a little more wit, than to place confidence in the fidelity of perfidious rebels^f.” [On what score did he denominate them perfidious? Unless indeed he referred to the original and mutual engagement of king and people, and inferred from it that they were bound to unlimited submission.] His sentiments were precisely those expressed by Montrose, who declared “the horror he was in, when he thought of a treaty; except indeed the rebels disbanded, and submitted themselves entirely to the king’s goodness and pardon^g.” It is remarkable, that in the letter to the queen just quoted, he further protests that he

^f Charles’s Works, Letters, Feb. 19.^g Welwood, Appendix, Number X.

“esteemed the interest she had in him at a far dearer rate,” than to suffer him to yield in the points she apprehended; thus confessing he dared not do that, upon which she had placed her prohibition, and had threatened him respecting it with her severe displeasure. We are here presented with an instructive spectacle, of a resolved despot to his people, who at the same time bows in uxorious submission to his wife.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

There were various circumstances that confirmed him in a determined resistance to compromise. One was the bitter dissensions that existed in the opposite party, each general being in a state of high displeasure with his brother general, as well as with many of the officers under his command. The king also placed great reliance upon the growing divisions between the presbyterians and independents. He courted the latter with a declaration of his regard to the ease of tender consciences^b; and from the former he expected much, as they had repeatedly shewn their unwillingness that he should be reduced too low, both from a fear of what might in that case be effected by the independents, and because the noble and the opulent among them still felt a strong attachment to the person and office of a king. Charles also entertained sanguine expectations from the military undertakings of Mon-

Encouraged by the dissensions among his adversaries.

and by the hopes he entertained of further assistance.

^b Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 687.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

Disposi-
tions of his
followers
different
from his
own.

trose in Scotland, from the consequences of an entire peace with the Catholics of Ireland, and from the promise that was held out to him of a reinforcement of ten thousand men from the duke of Lorraineⁱ.

But, at the same time that the king, and a few of those who were most closely connected with him, were strenuously bent to try all extremities, and yield nothing to rebels with arms in their hands, there was a formidable party about the throne who were animated with very different sentiments. The Oxford parliament, which originally consisted of fifty-two lords, and one hundred and seventeen commoners, was now re-assembled^k. Their numbers were considerably reduced, and their importance greatly diminished. The history of this, their second session, is enveloped in much obscurity. Scarcely any records now remain of it. The members however were men that felt a very different interest respecting the issue of the contest, from that which was cherished by either king or queen. They sighed for peace. Some of the more respectable members did not wish for so entire a victory on the part of the crown, as Charles proposed. The bulk thought only of their own advantage or their ease. They were tired of the hazards and the sacrifices at-

ⁱ Charles's Works, Letters, Jan. 17, 1645.

^k Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 568.

tendant on civil war. They were impatient to sit down in quiet beside their own hearths. They would have been well contented, that something should be yielded by both parties to the contest, and that some compromise should be suddenly agreed on. In the language of Clarendon, "advice came from many different hands, that the king should send a message to the houses for peace¹." In the language of Charles, he "feared to be pressed to make mean overtures, and was anxious to be freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, that is, from his mongrel parliament^m," as he styled it.

CHAP.
XVI.
1644.

Having thus referred to the state of mind of the king and his supporters, we shall better understand the particulars of the reception of the commissioners of the two houses. They were presented to the king, and the earl of Denbigh read to him the propositions for peace. When he had finished, the king asked whether the commissioners had power to treat? He was answered, that their mission extended no further than to receive his answer in writing. Then, rejoined the king, a letter-carrier might have done as much as youⁿ. Two or three days after, they were summoned to receive his answer, which was read in their presence, they at the same time remarking

Reception
of the pro-
positions.

¹ Ibid.

^m Charles's Works, Letters, March 12, 1645.

ⁿ Whitlocke, p. 114.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

that it was without address, and asking to whom they should deliver it? To those that sent you, said the king. You are but the carriers; and if I send the song of Robinhood and Little John, you must carry it. The commissioners answered, that they had conceived the business they came about was of more consequence than a song; and so they departed ^o. Charles however summoned Hollis and Whitlocke to a particular conference, imagining that he might effect something with them separately, which could not be managed with all the commissioners together ^p.

Answer re-
turned by
the com-
missioners.

The purport of Charles's message was to say, that, the propositions being very long, and the matter they contained of great importance, it could not be expected that he could give an immediate and positive answer by those who brought them, and to ask a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton to be the bearers of his reply. This message of course encountered an instant obstacle in the circumstance of its being without an address; and the earl of Essex was accordingly directed to write a letter to Rupert, now commander in chief of the king's forces, to signify that, if the safe-conduct were demanded from the lords and commons assembled in parliament at Westminster, it

^o Ibid. p. 115. Journals of Lords, Dec. 3.

^p Whitlocke, p. 113, 114.

would be granted ^q. This requisition was at length complied with. The circumstances which attended this compliance, are thus explained by Charles in a letter to the queen: "As to my calling those at London a parliament, if there had been two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no wise acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation ^r."

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

King addresses the parliament in the form prescribed.

The communication brought by the two noblemen above-mentioned, was merely a proposal, that fit persons should be appointed on either part to meet together, and treat upon the propositions that had been offered to the king, and upon such explanations and qualifications of these propositions as might be found necessary ^s. Occasion however was taken of their mission to furnish them with instructions as to any secret way by which, being in the head-quarters of the enemy, they might promote the royal interests. They were directed to prolong their stay in London by all

Duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton in London.

^q Journals of Commons, Dec. 3.

^r Charles's Works, Letters, January 2. Clarendon has totally omitted this circumstance, no doubt because he was ashamed of the king's subterfuge, and has substituted in its place a debate, probably forged, in the parliament at Westminster. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 569.

^s Journals, Dec. 17.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

means in their power. They were commanded to use their best skill to let the independents know that the king was willing to take them into his protection, and preserve to them liberty of conscience in matters indifferent, and to reward any services they might render him. They were at the same time directed to alarm the Scottish commissioners about the designs which had been laid by the other party to dissolve and root up monarchy itself, and to remonstrate to them the ill effects that would have upon the objects of which Scotland was in pursuit'. The parliament however was jealous as to what might result from their protracted stay in London, and hurried them away after an interval of ten days, with their consent that there should be a treaty, but alleging that it would require some time to resolve concerning the instructions and manner of the treaty, and that therefore they would not detain the king's messengers^u.

Charles recognises the Scottish commissioners in that character.

It must be acknowledged that the parliament assumed something of a republican firmness and severity in the course of these transactions. The king had published a proclamation on occasion of the Scottish army advancing into England, declaring that in so doing they incurred the crimes of treason and rebellion^w. The parliament, when they prescribed to him the form in which he

^t Clarendon State Papers, Vol. II, p. 179.

^u Journals, Dec. 19.

^w Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 494.

should desire a safe-conduct for his two noble messengers, also required that in the application it should be stated, that they came for the purpose of bringing the king's answer to the lords and commons assembled in parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland^x; thus making England and Scotland joint-parties to the proposed negotiation. It was the king's proposal that fit persons should be appointed on either part, to meet together, and discuss the terms of the treaty. But all that followed was chalked out by the committee of both kingdoms, and, having received the sanction of both houses of parliament, was then sent to the king.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

It was determined that the place appointed for the treaty should be Uxbridge; and that the negotiators should be four on the part of the house of lords, and eight from the commons, with the ten commissioners for Scotland, to meet sixteen persons appointed by the king. The time allotted for the treaty was twenty days; the subjects were to be religion, the militia, and Ireland^y; and each of these subjects respectively was to be treated on for three days alternately^z. The commissioners on the part of the parliament were Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh, and the

1645.
Uxbridge
appointed
for the
place of
treaty.

It is limited to twenty days.

^x Journals of Commons, Dec. 3.

^y Journals of Lords, Jan. 3. of Commons, Jan. 6.

^z Journals of Commons, Jan. 27.

CHAP.
XVI.1645.
It com-
mences.

commoners lately sent to Oxford, with the addition of Vane, St. John, Crewe and Prideaux.

The temper in which the king entered upon the negotiation may best be inferred from a letter of his to the queen, in which he observes, "I assure thee that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it), that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which, upon my word," are such as we had formerly determined on^a.

Inflexibili-
ty of the
king.

Indeed it would be idle to affirm that either party met in a spirit of concession, or with any sanguine hopes that the negotiation would end in any thing effectual. The king had fixed his points, from which nothing but irretrievable defeat could make him recede. We shall see hereafter how imperfect was the effect, when that situation actually occurred. The parliament were on the other hand by no means disposed to depart from those terms, of ecclesiastical government, and the firm establishment of the nation's rights and liberties, for which they had contended through such a world of difficulties. They knew the character of the king. His favourite topic, when he had to adjust with parties whose views did not square with his own, was that of nullities, by means of which he could set aside any concessions he had made,

Constancy
of parlia-
ment.

^a Charles's Works, Letters, Feb. 15.

in the way of shewing that, from some original defect, they had always been invalid. There could have been no safety in any compromise the parliament might make with him, unless they secured the power of the military. A king, with a court and its splendours, and with the right of nominating officers, has an unperishable advantage over a popular assembly to be perpetually renewed; and, when this advantage was sufficiently realised, then would come the hour of retribution and despotism. The parliament therefore had not merely to provide for the objects they had most at heart, but also to paralyse that reaction from which there was so much to be feared.

CHAP.
XVI.

1645.

With these disadvantages presenting themselves from either side, it would be useless to undertake to settle with scales of gold the concessions on one part and the other, and to decide which was the most unreasonable in its obstinacy. The parliament in the course of the preceding year had passed a presbyterian directory of worship in the room of the episcopal liturgy^b, and had voted several leading points of church-government: to these they required the king's consent, together with the act for abolishing episcopacy, and the act which had constituted and called together the assembly of divines. Charles's commissioners at Uxbridge, tendered on his part a mitigated epi-

Directory
of public
worship.

Conces-
sions of the
king.

^b Journals of Lords, Jan. 4.

CHAP.
XVI.

1645.

Conces-
sions of the
parliament.

scopacy, and that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction without the concurrence of a certain number of presbyters to be chosen by the clergy of the diocese^c. The point of military authority was still more vital. The king offered that the power of nominating officers should be confided for three years to twenty commissioners, half to be nominated by him, and half by the parliament, at the expiration of which term the power should revert to him^d. But this concession was apparently delusive. Officers, appointed under so brief an authority, if they desired to continue in their profession, would naturally look to the king, the final possessor; and endeavour, by whatever compliances might be exacted from them, to secure his countenance. The parliament on their part proposed, that the power of the militia should continue with the two houses for seven years from the conclusion of this agreement, or for three years from the settling a firm and established peace, and then to be permanently defined and disposed of by act of parliament^e. In the other matters included in the twenty-six propositions, Ireland, the persons among the king's adherents to be excepted from pardon, and such other persons as were to be declared incapable of holding offices, or of being employed in their respective

^c Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 819,^d Ibid. p. 827 et seqq.^e Ibid. p. 839. Whitlocke, Feb. 19.

professions, no progress was made. It being obvious that the treaty would never be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the parliament did not suffer it to be drawn into length, but recalled their commissioners at the expiration of the period assigned. The treaty began on the thirtieth of January and ended on the twenty-second of the following month.

CHAP.
XVI.

1645.

The treaty
is broken
off.

The close of the year 1644, and the commencement of the following year, were distinguished by proceedings, in which the two houses of parliament in another way claimed to themselves the character of an independent and complete government. Hitherto no blood had been shed in assertion of their authority, otherwise than in the field. The administration of criminal justice in application to the ordinary course of offences in society had gone on: the necessity of the case imperiously demanded it. Martial law had had its customary scope: there can be no army without it. One man had been hanged, and two others convicted, as spies. Even, in the case of Waller's^f plot for betraying the city of London, two of the offenders, Tomkins and Chaloner, had suffered death: this was an extraordinary case. In the business of the great state-delinquent, the earl of Strafford, the last punishment of the law had been inflicted: but this was in pursuance of an act of parliament, to which the king had given his assent.

1644.
Capital
punish-
ments.

^f Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet.

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

Nov. 22.

Feb. 20.

Dec. 23.

Jan. 1, 2.

Attainder
of Laud.

Meanwhile the parliament had thus far certainly displayed an exemplary reluctance and moderation in the application of capital punishment. Those who guided its proceedings began now to think, that it was time for them to assume this further characteristic of a full government, the animadverting freely, and without the reserve they had hitherto shewn, upon public enemies. The result of this sentiment was first the infliction of capital punishment upon two of the ring-leaders in the Irish rebellion, who had been for a considerable time in custody in England, Macmahon and lord Macguire. Macmahon suffered first^g: Macguire pleaded his peerage; but the plea was overruled^h, and he was also condemned and executedⁱ. Sir Alexander Carew, member of parliament for the county of Cornwall, was the next offender in a similar nature who was brought to justice, he having endeavoured to betray the town of Plymouth to the king: he was beheaded^k. Next followed the Hothams, father and son; they having undertaken to betray the town of Hull to the king^l.

But the most memorable tragedy of this sort which was exhibited about this time, was the death of archbishop Laud. He fell a victim to the Scots, to the presbyterians, and to the resentment of an individual who had formerly been the

^g Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 731.^h Ibid. p. 732.ⁱ Ibid. p. 732 to 737. ^k Ibid. p. 742, 743. ^l Ibid. p. 749, 750.

subject of his barbarity, the celebrated Prynne. Though other men in the party of the parliament felt less eagerness for his destruction, yet no one was inclined to put himself forward to shield him from his impending fate, and to encounter the obloquy which would be fastened on such a proceeding.

Laud had been in prison from the commencement of the Long Parliament: but for a considerable time he had seemed to be overlooked. Of humble birth, and raised by a variety of incidental circumstances, as a man whose principles, both in church and state, marvelously suited the king and his then principal advisers, to the dignity he enjoyed, he was no sooner thrown down from high station, than he ceased to be of any public significance. The church, at the head of which he had presided for more than seven years, was overturned, and he was buried and overwhelmed in its ruins. At the time at which we are arrived he was more than seventy-one years of age; and imprisonment and adversity seem to have made great ravages in his constitution. The spectacle of all this ought to have disarmed his enemies, and induced them to dismiss him to obscurity and contempt.

Laud certainly speaks of himself, and probably with much sincerity, as a good man and a martyr. Such he thought himself. He was a patron of the most minute and imposing formalities and

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.

processions^m: and we should shew ourselves very slender observers of human nature, if we supposed that the most mortified and saintly character did not feel some flutterings and swellings of the heart, when he himself formed the central figure of such a scene. He was a man of narrow prejudices and great bigotry. He had certainly no sympathies for those, who for alleged offences against God or the king fell under his animadversion. The spectacle of his pulling off his cap in open court, and giving God thanks, when sentence was pronounced in the star-chamber against Leighton, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, for a libelⁿ, that he should be publicly whipped, stand in the pillory, and there be branded, have his ears cut off, and his nose slit, and afterwards be imprisoned for life [Leighton was at this time between fifty and sixty years of age, and was father of the archbishop of that name], is an instructive example of what horrible perversity may be committed by one who holds himself to be a good man. Laud was now, as we have said, sunk into utter insignificance; but, in the period of his prosperity, he was a formidable instrument and adviser for a prince aspiring to be a tyrant.

Difference
of the cases
of Strafford
and Laud.

It is evident on the face of the question, that no two things can be more distinct, than the case .

^m Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 76, 77.

ⁿ Rushworth, Vol. II, p. 56. Neal, History of Puritans, Book II, Chap. iv.

of Strafford and that of Laud. In the former there were reasons of no common urgency, why the ordinary rules for the administration of justice should, if necessary, be laid aside. Strafford was a minister of unusual talent, and well qualified, if uncommon resolution and vigour, a determination not to be turned aside by surmountable obstacles, a clear spirit and a singular comprehension of intellect, and a tone of mind inaccessible to petty scruples, could answer the end, to carry through such purposes as Charles the First entertained. He was the able counsellor, and the only able counsellor, the king had enlisted in his service. Charles knew his value; and no device could root him out of his favour. In vain the king might consent to exclude him from his presence and councils for ever: like Edward the Second and his minion Gaveston, though in this case for loftier and more formidable purposes, no oaths, no treaties, no decisions of either or both houses of parliament, would suffice to keep asunder the master and his faithful instrument. Here therefore common rules could scarcely be considered as applicable. This was an affair in which the public safety was the only law that deserved to be consulted. The impeachment of Strafford was turned into a bill of attainder, it was voted that, if no one of his acts amounted technically to treason, the whole of them taken together constituted a treason by excellence: all was fair

CHAP.
XVI.

1644.
Similarity
of the pro-
ceedings.

in a case in the highest degree alarming, and that could scarcely encounter a parallel.

Unfortunately the same mode of proceeding was exactly copied out in the process against Laud. His trial commenced on the twelfth of March 1644^o; and a variety of errors were committed by the inadvertence of his prosecutors. At this period Prynne took the impeachment under his special direction. At length, after an interval of more than seven months, the proceeding by impeachment was perceived to promise no effectual conclusion; the trial was laid aside; and a bill of attainder brought in. That the parallel to the prosecution against Strafford might be more complete, a message was brought to the house of lords from the commons by Strode, during the progress of the bill, to desire the lords to expedite the attainder; it being to execute justice upon a person who was a notorious delinquent, that had endeavoured the subversion of all our laws; and, the eyes of the country and the city being upon the business, the expedition of it would prevent the demanding of justice by multitudes^p. At length the lords voted that the defendant was guilty of all the facts charged in the bill, but started a doubt whether they amounted to treason^q. A conference was therefore held

^o Cobbet, State Trials, Vol. IV, p. 343.

^p Journals of Lords, Nov. 28.

^q Ibid. Dec. 17.

between the two houses, in which serjeant Wilde and others undertook to satisfy the lords as to the point of law^f; and two days after the ordinance received their final sanction^g. • The same clause was inserted in this attainder as in that of Strafford, “that no judge or judges shall interpret any act or thing to be treason, in other manner than they should or ought to have done, if this ordinance had never been made.” In fine, on the sixth day after passing the attainder, this infirm old man was led out to his execution, with the spirit and feeling of a martyr, and the beams of the sun, as we are told, shining upon his serene and benign countenance^h.

CHAP.
XVI.
1645.

Laud is be-
headed.

^f Cobbet, p. 599.

^g Journal of the Lords, Jan. 4.

^h Cobbet, p. 625.

CHAPTER XVII.

BEGINNING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1645.—DIS-
 LUTENESS OF THE KING'S FORCES.—CLUB-MEN.
 —SIEGE OF TAUNTON, DEFENDED BY BLAKE.—
 EXPLOITS OF MONTROSE.—HIS BARBARITIES.

CHAP.
 XVII.

1645.
 Execution
 of the new
 model.

THE arrangements of the new model were not completed without difficulty. Three armies of ten thousand men each, were to be reduced to one army of twenty-two thousand. This could not be done without considerable derangements of detail. A number of officers were withdrawn from the service, because they were members of parliament; a number, probably greater, were dismissed, because one army did not require so many, as three before had required. The soldiers were drafted out of old regiments into new: every thing in a manner was changed. This could not be without exciting partial discontents. The independents, and they were very numerous in the army, were charmed with the new regulation: they believed that the war would now be carried on with genuine resolution and spirit; and they were willing to submit to some individual priva-

tions, if such should fall to their lot, for so great and extensive an object. The presbyterians, and, as the city was almost wholly presbyterian, and as that persuasion had had a general spread through the country, they cannot be supposed to have been few, were for a like reason dissatisfied. Essex, the old commander in chief, was, as has already been said, highly popular among the military. Waller, before the full execution of the new model, was ordered to march with his troops into the west^a. In the mean time he wrote to his masters, to say that the soldiers shewed an unwillingness to engage in the expedition^b. This discontent however was speedily subdued; and Waller proceeded on his mission. When the new model had finally passed into an ordinance, major general Skippon shewed himself particularly active and skilful in subduing the dissatisfaction even of the regiments which had served under Essex^c. Dalbier however, who has formerly been mentioned as one of the officers formed in the mercenary armies of the continent, conducted himself, with eight troops of horse, for some time in so equivocal a way, as to make it doubtful whether his design was not to go over to the king^d. One author says, that St. John on

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.
It occasions
discontents.

^a Journals of Commons, Jan. 15, 29.

^b Whitlocke, Feb. 13, 17, Mar. 4, 13, 14.

Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 17. Apr. 6.

^d Ibid.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.

this occasion proceeded so far, as to have written a letter to the parliamentary committee of Hertfordshire, advising that they should be reduced to their duty by force^e. They were however at length brought to submission, without its being necessary to resort to violence^f.

State of the
royal in-
terests.

At the commencement of the year 1645, the king possessed nearly the whole west of England. Plymouth, Taunton, Weymouth, and one or two other places only, held out for the parliament. In the centre of the kingdom he had Oxford for his head-quarters, and possessed a majority of the strong places in the midland counties. In the north he had little more than Pomfret, Scarborough, and Carlisle. Two principal objects that engaged his attention in the beginning of the campaign, were the siege of Taunton, defended by Blake, and the relief of Chester, besieged by Brereton.

Prince of
Wales com-
mander in
chief.

The king had already resolved to appoint Rupert his commander in chief, when his nephew made it his particular request that there might be no other supreme officer in the royal army than the prince of Wales, who was now nearly fifteen years of age. Accordingly the heir apparent was nominated commander in chief, with the particular designation of general of the west; and Rupert

^e Hollis, *Memoirs*, p. 32.

^f Rushworth, *ubi supra*.

was constituted his lieutenant^g. At the same time prince Charles was sent to Bristol, which was done, as we are told, principally with the view, that, in case of any disaster, the king and the prince might not be found together, so that, if the father should fall into the enemy's hands, his son at least should be at liberty^h.

CHAP.
XVII.
1645.

A person, who makes a considerable figure among the king's officers in the history of this campaign, is general Goring. He appears to be a man who had made a considerable practical proficiency in the art military. He had great activity and an undaunted courage; but the vice, which rendered all his good qualities almost nugatory, was an unbounded propensity to licentiousness and debauchery. He excelled in wit and humour; but he was wholly without principle, and almost never serious; so that one of his most chosen gratifications was to overreach and expose those who placed the greatest confidence in him. He was ambitious; but he had not enough of perseverance and self-command to enable him to accomplish the purposes of his ambitionⁱ. Such a man was dangerous to be trusted at any time; but particularly so by Charles, in the very perilous situation in which he was at this time placed.

General
Goring.

The soldiers under such a commander might

^g Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 604.

^h Ibid. p. 601, 624.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 554, 555.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.

Enormities
committed
by his fol-
lowers.

be expected to imitate the vices of their chief. Accordingly, we are told, that his cavalry committed great outrages and barbarities, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts which were before devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the approach of any forces to redeem them^k. At Exeter, in the king's quarters, Goring and his officers spent several days in the most scandalous disorders, while his followers lived at free quarter, and plundered to the very gates of the city^l.

Clubmen.

This, and a similar dissoluteness of the king's forces in other directions, seems to have administered the first occasion for the appearance of a new body of men, which excited considerable attention through the whole of the present campaign. They were known by the appellation of the Clubmen. The first object of their hostility was the royal party; and the first time we hear of them their professed purpose was to call on their neighbours to assist them to extirpate the cavaliers^m. They also set forth a declaration of their enmity to the Popish party^m. Two grievances in particular appear to have roused their exertions: the unheard of rapine and barbarities to which they

^k Ibid. p. 631, 632.

^l Ibid. p. 633. Oldmixon says, that such were their excesses, that even to his time the name of Goring's Crew was remembered with abhorrence in the neighbourhood. p. 278.

^m Whitlocke, Mar. 11.

were exposed ; and the levy that was attempted to be made among them of soldiers to serve in the king's armiesⁿ. They were probably at first armed only with such weapons as offered themselves to the hands of rustics ; but they retained the same appellation, when, soon after, they assumed an air of greater discipline, and were openly led by many of the gentlemen of their respective counties. Four thousand of them appeared in Dorsetshire, and were reinforced by the parliamentary governor of Wareham ; and two thousand in Worcestershire^o. Not long after, fourteen thousand were collected in the latter county, and applied to Massey, governor of Gloucester, to assist them in the siege of Hereford : but this proposal seems to have failed, from their declining to give him assurances sufficiently explicit, that they fought for the parliament^p.

CHAP.
XVII.
1645.

It has been already mentioned that, soon after the raising of the siege of Lime, Blake and some other gentlemen of the county made themselves masters of Taunton, of which Blake was imme-

Siege of
Taunton,
defended
by Blake.

ⁿ Ibid. Mar. 4.

^o Ibid. Mar. 11.

^p Ibid. Mar. 25. There is an absurd story told by Locke, in a fragment, entitled *Memoirs relating to the Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, the materials of which he seems to have received from the lips of that nobleman, that Shaftesbury, then sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, was the first author of the project of the clubmen, which he intended for the service of the king, and by which, if left to himself, he would infallibly have replaced Charles on the throne,

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.

diately appointed governor. The place was judged both by friends and enemies to be capable of little defence; but, by the activity of his mind, the variety of his invention, the earnestness of his zeal, and the firmness of his courage, by means of which he infused his own invincible spirit into his assistants, Blake performed what before had seemed impossible, and rendered the resistance of Taunton still more memorable than that of Lime had been the year before. He had scarcely sat himself down in it, before it was besieged by the royalists in October 1644^a; but it was relieved, first by a portion of the parliamentary forces quartered in the west in December^r, and then by a detachment from the army of Waller in the following February^s. The royalist generals boasted of the quick dispatch they would make of the business of Taunton; one specified six days as sufficient to effect the undertaking, and others pledged

but that he was defeated by the intervention of the king's advisers. In answer to this it is only necessary to remark, that the clubmen first rose in opposition to the king's forces, and were not at all heard of till the spring of 1645, and that sir Anthony enlisted himself in the parliament service, from which he never after swerved, in the autumn of 1644. [Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 495.] This vapouring nobleman doubtless told the story by way of boast, and for the pleasure of taking-in the philosopher, and little thought that his idle tale would ever be made a subject of grave historical discussion.

^a Whitlocke, p. 107.^r Ibid. p. 121.^s Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 631, 632.

themselves that it should not be a work of time^t. But they were all baffled in their calculations. At length Fairfax's new-modelled army being ready to march by the end of April, they received their first orders to proceed to the relief of Taunton^u, and had already advanced for that purpose as far as Blandford, when new directions came, that Fairfax should return to the vicinity of Oxford, and send off a detachment of about five thousand foot and two thousand horse to the assistance of Blake^w. This party happily accomplished its object without molestation on the eleventh of May. The detachment, we are told, arrived in the very article of reducing the town, the ammunition spent, the walls having been at different times stormed, and entered by the enemy, who were beaten out again, and the whole furnishing a sad spectacle of a flourishing town ruined by fire, and the people well nigh famished, while the minds of its heroic defenders bade defiance to every extremity^x.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.
Fairfax
ordered to
relieve it.

The parliament placed their joint reliance for the success of the campaign upon the English army under their new general Fairfax, and the Scots army under the earl of Leven. The Scots had confined their progress during the year 1644 to the northern counties; but, in conjunction with Cromwell and the English forces, they had at-

Scots army
under
Leven.

^t Ibid. p. 636.

^u Journals, April 28.

^w Ibid. May 6.

^x Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 660. Whitlocke, May 14. Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 28.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.

chieved the great exploit of the campaign, the battle of Marston Moor. Their progress afterwards had been but little; and had been principally distinguished by the reduction of Newcastle in October: but much was expected from them in the campaign of 1645; and parliament was incessantly importuning them to advance into the south^y.

1644.
Projects of
Antrim and
Montrose.

It became therefore of the utmost importance to the royal cause to effect a diversion in Scotland; and the projects which had again and again been discussed with Antrim and Montrose, now began to be looked to as one of the main sources of hope for the king's affairs. Antrim had left Oxford about the close of the year 1643, with a promise that he would with all expedition land two thousand Irish Catholics from Ulster upon the nearest coasts of Scotland; and with their support Montrose did not doubt to rouse the royalists of that country, and reduce the covenanters to the utmost difficulties. He therefore left Oxford about the same time with Antrim; and, while the latter proceeded for Ireland, Montrose travelled to York, and demanded, as Charles had authorised him to do, a strong party of horse from the earl of Newcastle to enable him to go on to his destination^z. But by this time the co-

^y Journals of Commons, Jan. 14, 24. Feb. 4, 8, 19. Mar. 11, 21. Apr. 4. May 3, 9, 24, 31. June 7.

^z Wishart, Cap. iii. Life of Newcastle, p. 43.

venanters under Leven had passed the Tweed, and the English commander found sufficient employment for all the force he could collect. Montrose however with a few troops crossed the borders, and took possession of Dumfries in April: but he could hear no tidings of his Irish auxiliaries, and was obliged to fall back upon Carlisle^a. Here he endeavoured to render such service to the royal cause as his means might enable him, and was afterwards summoned by Rupert to join him at the battle of Marston Moor, but arrived too late^b.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.
Montrose
takes Dum-
fries.
Retires.

The disaster which attended this battle, rendered it in the opinion of most men impracticable for Montrose to proceed further in his original enterprise. But his resolution seemed to increase, instead of giving way, under misfortune. The more desperate was the prospect, the more, as he conceived, did the interests of his master, and the expectations he had endeavoured to excite, call upon him for the utmost exertions. He made his way into Scotland in disguise, and with two companions only; and hid himself for some time under the protection of a trusty friend who dwelt at the foot of the Grampian mountains^c. He still counted upon those reinforcements from An-

Goes again
into Scot-
land.

^a Wishart, Cap. iv. Baillie, Vol. I, p. 455.

^b Wishart, Cap. iv. Guthry, p. 158.

^c Guthry, p. 161. Rushworth, Vol. V, p. 928. Wishart, Cap. iv.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.

Irish
auxiliaries
landed.
July 8.

trim which had been promised him from the first appearance of spring; and he had probably of late received communications from Ireland which kept alive his hopes. Nor did he expect in vain. He had not long remained in his hiding place, before tidings reached him that the Irish were landed^d; and, without betraying the place of his residence, he sent them directions to proceed for Athol, where they should soon find him among them. Accordingly he came, even before he was looked for, accompanied only by his friend; and the Irish could scarcely believe that the man who stood before them in the garb of an ordinary peasant, was the nobleman who planned the expedition, and upon whom solely it depended for its success^e.

Military
character of
Montrose.

The campaign that followed is probably one of the most extraordinary that is to be found in the history of the art of war. Montrose had a genius singularly accommodated for the scene in which he was now to figure. He was capable of enduring every hardship, and nothing could subdue the ardour and elevation of his spirit. He had the talent of inspiring his own feelings into the souls of his followers; and accordingly the marches he performed during the twelve following months were rapid, and were unintermitted; and he conquered difficulties, under

^d Spalding, Vol. II, p. 215.^e Wishart, Cap. v.

which any other man would have sunk, and that were such that, even when he had surmounted them, other men could with difficulty believe the tale.

CHAP.
XVII.
1644.

The Irish, amounting according to some accounts to fifteen hundred, and according to others only to eleven hundred men^f, formed the nucleus of his force. They were strangers, and had no other home but the camp of their commander. Argyle had even found an opportunity to burn the vessels that brought them^g; and thus they derived new energy and courage from despair. Montrose however no sooner shewed himself in the highlands, than he was joined by many of his countrymen, so that his army was immediately increased to three thousand men^h. Meanwhile lord Elcho was commissioned to command the covenanters at Perth with six thousandⁱ; and Argyle, with the title of lieutenant of the kingdom^k, marched against the invaders from the west^l. Montrose, with his characteristic decision, immediately advanced against Elcho, with a part of whose forces he had a secret correspondence^m, and, against whom if he were successful, the town of Perth would be laid at his

Forces
under his
command.

^f Baillie, Vol. II, p. 64. Spalding, Vol. II, p. 215. Wishart, Cap. v. Guthry, p. 162. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 618.

^g Wishart, *ubi supra*.

^h Guthry, p. 162.

ⁱ Wishart, *ubi supra*.

^k Spalding, Vol. II, p. 259.

^l Wishart, *ubi supra*.

^m Baillie, Vol. II, p. 64.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.
Battle of
Tipper-
muir.
Septem-
ber 1.

Argyle
advances
against
Montrose.

Battle of
Aberdeen.
Septem-
ber 12.

Enormities
perpe-
trated.

mercy, from whence he could supply himself with every thing he wanted. The impetuosity of Montrose and his followers carried the day; and he entered Perth, where he gained cannon and ammunition, and his soldiers enriched themselves with the plunder of the city ^a.

Meanwhile Argyle was fast coming on; and Montrose, many of whose highlanders immediately left him to secure their plunder, found it necessary to retire ^o. He bent his march towards the counties of Aberdeen and Bamff, where the Gordons were in great strength; who were zealously devoted to the royal cause. As he passed, he threatened Dundee; but it was too strong for him to make any impression upon it ^p. He therefore proceeded with all expedition for the city of Aberdeen, which appeared to be covered from his attacks by lord Burley, who was posted in the neighbourhood with near three thousand men. They were however raw and undisciplined soldiers, and were speedily driven into flight by Montrose and his Irish ^q. Impelled by the hope of safety, they fled into the town, and victors and vanquished entered Aberdeen together. Here for four days the city was made a prey to the most unrelenting barbarity. Montrose, forgetful of the cruelties he had practised against the inhabi-

^a Wishart, *ubi supra*. Spalding, Vol. II, p. 233.

^o Wishart, Cap. vi. ^p Ibid. Spalding, Vol. II, p. 234.

^q Wishart, Cap. vi.

tants, when he had come thither as a leader for the covenanters five years before^r, now renewed the same calamities, while he was contending for the cause in which they had then suffered. The men were murdered in cold blood, the women violated, and the provident Irish stripped their victims before they assassinated them, that their clothes might not be disfigured with their blood. It was fatal for a woman to be seen weeping for her father or her husband slain, and, if observed, she was instantly killed upon the dead body of the relative she deplored^s.

On the fifth day Montrose received intelligence of the approach of Argyle, and found it necessary to evacuate Aberdeen^t. He proceeded to the northern division of the county of Bamff, with a sanguine hope that he should there be joined by the marquis of Huntley and his followers, who, no longer ago than the preceding April, had been in arms for the king against the covenanters. But Montrose found his situation such as he could not maintain. He was desirous of crossing the Spey, the most rapid river in Scotland; but, previously to his approach, the further bank was lined with the forces of Ross, Caithness, Sutherland and Murray to the amount of five thousand men, while Argyle, with the main army at this time in the kingdom, was close in his rear^t. The highlanders had left

Montrose
in Bamff,

^r Spalding, Vol. I, p. 159, et seqq. ^s Ibid. Vol. II, p. 237, et seqq.

^t Spalding, p. 246. Wishart, Cap. yiii.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.

Penetrates
into Athol.Withdraws
again to the
north.Pursued by
Argyle.

Montrose, laden with the spoil, according to their custom ; but, with masterly marches, he proceeded along towards the head of the river, being obliged to leave behind him his artillery in a morass, and reached the mountains of Badenoch. From thence he repaired to Athol, where his expedition had commenced, and immediately dispatched Macdonald, the commander of his Irish auxiliaries, into the highlands, to procure him new recruits^u. Argyle however was not far behind him ; and Montrose found it expedient to turn aside into Angus, from whence by rapid marches he once more shewed himself in the country of the Gordons. But here he was wholly disappointed of the reinforcement on which he relied^w. Huntley had too keen a recollection of the disgraces and persecution he had experienced at the hands of Montrose five years before, to allow him to place himself under the standard of a leader to whom all considerations appeared to be indifferent, except those of personal ambition.

Meanwhile Argyle was unwearied in his desire to extinguish a leader of barbarous and lawless men, who had thus come unlooked for to disturb the peace of a country, where a little before every thing had looked tranquillity. He accordingly proceeded in the traces of Montrose to Angus, and from thence across the Dee. At Faivy Castle

^u Wishart, Cap. vii. Guthry, p. 168.^w Wishart, *ubi supra*.

the two armies faced each other for several days ; but Montrose at length found it expedient to decamp *. The arts of Argyle were effectual in seducing several of his followers ; and others of them, disheartened by the incredible hardships which threatened them amidst impassable mountains and winter snows, asked his leave to retire, a permission which it would have been vain to refuse. He hastened therefore to Athol, the rendezvous he had appointed for Macdonald and his recruits ; and here once more his forces bore the appearance of an army. Argyle, tired with the incessant activity and stratagems of his enemy, and thinking himself ill seconded by the civil power, at this time resigned his commission as commander of the army, and general Baillie was appointed to succeed him †.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.

Appears in
Athol.

Argyle expected to retire from the fatigues of the campaign, to the enjoyments of peace amidst his dependents at his magnificent paternal seat at Inverary : but such was not the intent of his adversary. Montrose had long regarded Argyle with hostile feelings as a rival ; and he felt himself further irritated by the offer of a large sum which Argyle had lately placed on his head ‡. The temper of this royalist leader was by no means

Invades the
country of
Argyle.

* Spalding, Vol. II, p. 256, 257. Guthry, p. 171. Wishart, Cap. vii.

† Wishart, Cap. vii, viii. Guthry, p. 171, 173. Baillie, Vol. II, p. 93.

‡ Wishart, Cap. vii.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.

that of pure patriotiſm : he was animated by ſincere affection to a maſter who had diſtinguiſhed him by his favour and confidence, and he was anxious to ſecure to himſelf the name of a hero ; but he alſo felt the intemperance that is peculiarly incident to a new convert, and the ſpirit of inex-tinguishable revenge againſt an adverſary of whom he thought he had much reaſon to complain.

The entrance into the country of Argyle is full of narrow paſſes and mountainous defiles ; and the lord of the domain uſed to boaſt, that he would rather loſe one hundred thouſand crowns, than that any mortal ſhould know the path by which an armed force could penetrate into it. But all the obſtacles that nature could accumulate to op-poſe his march were as nothing to the intrepidity and perseverance of Montroſe. Add to this, his coming was unexpected, and his enemy ſlept in entire ſecurity. He croſſed, with his Iriſh and attendant highlanders, the mountain ſnows, and penetrated into the deepeſt reſſes of Argyleſhire. The chieftain himſelf, taken utterly by ſurpriſe, was obliged to ſeek his ſafety by ſea in a fiſhing-boat. Seven entire weeks, beginning from the thirteenth of December, did Montroſe ſpend in the work of deſtroyation. Every thing was accompliſhed, that the ſanguinary genius of the Iriſh, the animosities of the highlanders, and the fervour of his own reſentments could effect. The cattle were driven away or deſtroyed ; the

His fe-
rocities.

villages and the granaries were wasted with fire; and all who were capable of bearing arms were put to the sword without mercy. Having accomplished his vengeance, Montrose returned unopposed towards Lochaber. He ever after was accustomed to boast, that he had never experienced the providence and goodness of God in a more remarkable manner than on this occasion ^a.

CHAP.
XVII.

1644.

Montrose now bent his march towards Inverness, from whence the earl of Seaforth, with the veteran garrison of that place, reinforced with the highlanders of the neighbouring shires, was advancing against him. In the meanwhile Argyle, now freed from the presence of his ferocious invader, collected his retainers to the number of three thousand, and followed in his rear. Montrose no sooner understood this, than he reversed his march; and, leaving the open road, and pursuing the mountain-paths, came by surprise upon Argyle at Inverlochy. Here a fierce engagement ensued, in which the royalists, as usual, were completely victorious. Argyle is reproached, that he withdrew from the combat, and viewed the battle from the neighbouring lake ^b.

1645.
Marches
against
Inverness.

Returns.

Battle of
Inverlochy.
Feb. 2.

^a Bishop Guthry says (p. 174) that Montrose shed no blood in this expedition. The above account is taken from Wishart, the friend and biographer of Montrose, Cap. viii.

^b Wishart, Cap. viii. Guthry, p. 178, 179. Spalding, Vol. II, p. 269, 270. Baillic, Vol. II, p. 93.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.
Montrose
in the
county of
Murray.

at Stone-
haven.

Invades the
south of
Scotland.

From Inverlochy Montrose proceeded once more towards Inverness, which he again summoned, but in vain. From thence therefore he turned to the west into the county of Murray, where he was joined, in consequence of his victories and his fame, by the Gordons, and some other clans, who had hitherto kept themselves at a wary distance ^c. He proceeded to the districts of Elgin, Cullen and Bamff, where, by way of overawing the inhabitants, he once more let loose all the horrors of war ^d. He is commended by the English adherents of Charles for being "conscientious in protecting his friends, at the same that he shewed himself terrible to his enemies, and subtle in taking all neuters for such ^e." A memorable instance of his severity at this time has deservedly been selected, where at Stonehaven and Cowie, the people, seeing their towns on the point of being consumed with fire, came out, "men, and women, children at their knees, and children in their arms, crying, howling, and weeping, praying the earl for God's sake to save them from this fire. But they gat no answer ^f."

Montrose now, being reinforced from the north, meditated a descent on the south of Scotland, where he imagined he should find many friends to the royal cause. Baillie in the mean time

^c Wishart, Cap. ix.

^d Spalding, Vol. II, p. 273, et seqq.

^e Clarendon, State Papers, Vol. II, p. 189.

^f Spalding, p. 285.

marched against him, having with him many troops which had been recalled from England and Ireland. About the end of March the two armies faced each other in Angus, and Montrose shewed himself desirous of a battle; but the covenanters were awed by the great reputation he had acquired, and declined it^g. Soon after Lewis Gordon, instigated as it is said by Huntley, his father, drew off suddenly a considerable part of Montrose's reinforcements, and reduced him to a critical situation^h. He was therefore obliged to give up his intended march towards Edinburgh, and to retire once more into the north. Previously to his retreat however, he determined to achieve something considerable, and fell down upon Dundee. Here he committed his usual pillage, and had resolved to burn the town^h. He was informed that the enemy's forces, aware of his intended march upon Edinburgh, had fallen back upon the Forth to oppose his passage. But the intelligence was untrue. Baillie was close at hand to interrupt his proceedings; and, while his followers were dispersed in the town, intent upon plunder, and many of them plunged in intemperance and excess, Montrose received information that the enemy was within a mile of the placeⁱ.

Pillages
Dundee.

^g Guthry, p. 183. Wishart, Cap. ix.

^h Wishart, *ubi supra*.

ⁱ Wishart, Cap. ix. Guthry, p. 183.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.
Makes a
skilful
retreat.

The case seemed to be desperate. It was with the greatest difficulty that he could call off his men from the plunder; and nothing short of the coolest and most masterly arrangements on his part, could have saved them from being cut to pieces by the advancing foe. Baillie sent forward a detachment to prevent their retreat into the mountains: but Montrose feigned to proceed along the sea-shore, and, in that direction, reached Aberbrothock; and then, suddenly turning to the north, made good his retreat, after a toilsome and distressing march of sixty miles, in which he was annoyed at every step by the assaults of his pursuers ^k.

Rapidity of
his mo-
tions.

Montrose now sent lord Gordon, the eldest son of Huntley, but who was one of the invader's most faithful adherents, into the north, to endeavour to recal the Gordons and others, who had lately deserted him^l; while he himself fell down to Cardross in the vicinity of Loch Lomond, partly to divert the attention of the enemy from lord Gordon's motions, and partly to receive lord Aboyne, another son of Huntley, with certain of his friends, who, encouraged by the successes of Montrose, had escaped from Carlisle, and come thus far to join him^m. In the mean time the enemy divided his forces, Baillie with the main body remaining about Perthshire and Angus,

^k Wishart, *ubi supra*.

^l Wishart, Cap. x.

^m Guthry, p. 184.

while Hurry, the second in command, who had already fought on both sides, and betrayed both king and parliament in England, was dispatched with a body of veterans into Elgin and Bamffshire to put down lord Gordonⁿ. Montrose had no sooner received the fugitives from Carlisle, than he followed upon the steps of Hurry, anxious that no mischief should happen to his friends in the north. Owing to the rapidity of his marches, he came up with the enemy at Elgin, who with difficulty made good his retreat to Inverness, which place had been appointed for a rendezvous where Hurry was to receive various clans and bodies of forces enabling him to make a stand against the invaderⁿ. All this happened as the commander of the covenanters had projected, and Hurry returned on his steps at the head of an army of three thousand men. In the mean while Baillie with a much larger force was advancing towards the Spey. Montrose found himself much inferior in strength to Hurry; but he saw that there was no safety for him but in fighting this body, before the junction of the two commanders. Accordingly an engagement took place on the fourth of May at Auldearn in Nairnshire, and Montrose, having arranged his forces with his usual skill, once more gave an entire defeat to the covenanters^o.

Battle of
Auldearn.

ⁿ Wishart, *ubi supra*.

^o Wishart, Cap. x.

CHAP.
XVII.

1645.
Summary
of the cam-
paign in
Scotland.

Such was the memorable history of an uninterrupted campaign of eight months, from the beginning of September 1644, to the beginning of May 1645. Montrose undoubtedly displayed during this period a military talent which has never been surpassed. Yet to what did it all amount? The ravages he committed, and the cruelties he inflicted, can scarcely find a parallel in history. He exhibits the memorable spectacle of a chieftain, with only a small band of barbarous Irish on whom he could depend, traversing for a long period a country highly military, in every direction, while all the constituted authorities of the country found themselves unable to put him down. He was joined by various bands of highlanders, but never in any considerable numbers; and they left him as soon, sometimes because they were loaded with plunder, and sometimes because they were overcome with hardships and fatigues, which none but Montrose and his Irish were competent to endure. He never retained a fortress; he never planted a garrison. His power only followed his person; his influence vanished with his presence; and, after multiplied victories, his forces were not more numerous than they had been found in his first engagement.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOPES WITH WHICH CHARLES TOOK THE FIELD.—
 INACTIVITY OF THE SCOTS UNDER LEVEN.—
 LEICESTER STORMED BY THE KING'S FORCES.—
 CHARACTER OF FAIRFAX'S ARMY.—IRETON.—
 KING DEFEATED IN THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF
 NASEBY.

UPON the whole the king commenced the campaign of 1645 not without considerable hopes of success. At first he and his friends amused themselves with expressing their contempt for the new-modelled army, and seemed to imagine that, when the old commanders were dismissed, they should find little that was formidable among the parliamentary forces^a. But in this they speedily discovered their mistake. Charles however had other grounds of reliance, that promised a greater degree of solidity. He naturally supposed that, after the uninterrupted successes of Montrose, the power of the Scottish army in the north of England would be to a great degree neutralised. And this appeared to be the case. He had also a plan, which had cost him

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.
Resources
of the king.

^a Whitlocke, April 2. Baillic, Vol. II, p. 94, 95.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

much pains and reflection, for bringing over ten thousand of the Irish Catholics, to assist him in subduing the refractoriness of the adherents of the parliament^b. We shall have occasion to recur to this subject in the sequel; and no doubt several promises had passed on the business. But difficulties arose; and the question was not finally adjusted, till the aid was found too late. Lastly, the queen had entered into a negotiation with Charles duke of Lorraine, that he should transport himself with ten thousand veteran troops to the assistance of the king.

This duke of Lorraine was a man of a singular character. He had in so many successive ways offended the French court, that they at last resolved to strip him of his dominions; and they succeeded in their purpose. But he managed his affairs with such skill, that, even as an exile, we are told he contrived to possess great wealth, and to find himself at the head of a considerable army. His usual residence during several years was at Brussels; and he hired out his forces by an annual contract to the service of the king of Spain^c. What were the precise terms of his negotiation with the queen of England does not appear to be anywhere recorded; but the subject itself frequently occurs in the letters which passed at this time

^b This was the commission of the earl of Glamorgan.

^c Clarendon, Vol. III, p. 309, 388. Moreri. Henault.

between her and her husband. It is first mentioned in a letter of the date of the sixth of January; and three weeks after, the queen writes, "I received yesterday letters from the duke of Lorraine, who sends me word that, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men." Then the question occurs of their transportation. It was first proposed that they should sail from Holland: then the king says, Why may not his passage be procured through France, if that by Holland be attended with difficulty^d?

CHAP.
XVIII.
1645.

But all these hopes of cooperation from Scotland, from Ireland, and the Netherlands, were defeated by the rapid progress of events in England, and the fatal turn that was given to the prospects of the royal cause.

In consequence of the new model of the army, and of other causes, the campaign in the heart of England began late. Fairfax proceeded to Windsor to take the command on the third of April, and continued there till the close of the month^e. Rupert, with a considerable force, lay about Worcester; and it appeared to be the plan at this time to effect a junction between his army and the king's. To prevent this, Cromwel was ordered with a body

Fairfax
takes the
command.

^d Charles's Works. Letters, Jan. 6, 27. Feb. 19. Mar. 27, 30. April 24.

^e Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 16, 27.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

First suc-
cess of the
king's
forces.
May 3.

of horse by the committee of both kingdoms on that particular service. In this undertaking he failed. Goring, perhaps as an officer most qualified to cope with this commander, was ordered by the king from the west. They met at Radcot Bridge, where Cromwel sustained a repulse^f, and soon after Rupert and the king effected their purposed junction.

Fairfax
marches to
relieve
Taunton.
April 28.

It was the plan of those who directed the parliamentary councils, that Fairfax should march in the first instance to the relief of Taunton. They considered the strength of the royal and parliamentary parties in the west as being nearly in equilibrium, and were of opinion that the effectual relief of Taunton would turn the scale in favour of the friends of the commonwealth: and they thought that the Scots' army, which was every day expected to march southward, the forces under Brereton which held Chester besieged, and the various parties that were scattered through the counties of Stafford, Derby and Nottingham, would sufficiently secure the safety of their cause to the north^g.

Charles
marches to
the north:
Fairfax re-
called to
besiege
Oxford.
May 7.

But all this was speedily reversed. The king was contented to send Goring to strengthen his partisans in the west, while he and Rupert with the main army proceeded without delay in a

^f Rushworth, p. 27. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 649.

^g Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 25, 29, 30.

northern direction^b. The parliament immediately accommodated their proceedings to the plan of the king. They stopped the march of Fairfax, ordering him to send a strong^c detachment only to the relief of Tauntonⁱ, and shortly after directed him to form the siege of Oxford^k.

CHAP.

XVIII.

1645.

May 4.

The parliament, as we have seen, had been particularly earnest with the Scottish army under Leven to advance to the south. This army had been considerably reduced in numbers by the events of the preceding year, and repeated drafts had been made from it, to enable the government of that kingdom to cope with the formidable hostilities of Montrose. At length however they advanced from the neighbourhood of Carlisle, which they were besieging, as far as Rippon. But they no sooner heard of the king's march, who was now advanced as far as Drayton in Shropshire, and understood from a letter of Brereton that this project had been undertaken in concert with Montrose, than they fell back again upon Westmorland, that they might interpose their efforts to prevent its execution^l.

Proceed-
ings of
Leven's
army.

Baillie, one of the commissioners from the general assembly of the church of Scotland at this time residing in London, expresses in his Letters

^b Walker, p. 125, 126. Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 650. Rushworth, p. 29.

ⁱ Rushworth, p. 27, 30. ^k Ibid. p. 33. ^l Baillie, Vol. II, p. 103, 106.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

King re-
turns to the
south.Storm of
Leicester.
May 30.Siege of
Oxford
raised.

his exceeding regret at the tardiness of the Scottish army, and betrays his apprehension, that this conduct would prove highly injurious to the presbyterian cause, and throw an undue and dangerous power into the hands of the independents^m.

The king learned at Drayton, that the siege of Chester by Brereton was already raised, that the Scottish army had retrograded its march, and that Fairfax with his troops had sat down before Oxford. This intelligence induced him for the present to postpone his plan of cooperation with Montrose. He marched back to Tutbury, to Ashby la Zouch, and to Loughboroughⁿ. He judged that the most effectual way to disturb the proceedings of Fairfax would be to make some spirited attack upon a parliamentary garrison in that part of England. He fixed on Leicester for that purpose, and by a vehement and persevering assault it was carried the very same day that the army sat down before it. The garrison to the amount of fifteen hundred men immediately surrendered themselves prisoners; and the town was given up to all the horrors of a place taken by storm, aggravated by the licentiousness that then prevailed among the king's forces^o.

The surprise of Leicester, and the king's march

^m Ibid. p. 98, 104. ⁿ Walker, p. 127. Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 29.

^o Walker, p. 127, 128. Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 35. Clarendon, Vol II, p. 652, 653.

towards Oxford spread great alarm in the parliament quarters. Fairfax was ordered to break up the siege of Oxford, which he had formed about a fortnight before. Particular apprehension was entertained lest the royal army should march against the eastern counties, which were conceived to lie peculiarly exposed to their inroads^p.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

The army of the new model had as yet done little to earn for itself military reputation. The king's forces, however they might be the objects of censure for dissoluteness and licence, had shewn recently, at Leicester, and on other occasions, that they were not deficient in courage and perseverance. Scanty as they were in public spirit, they were animated, the officers in particular, with a high sense of honour, and they were urged on by their contempt, or, more properly speaking, their hatred, to the principles and manners of their antagonists.

Character
of the
king's army.

The army of the new model afforded a strong contrast to the riotous demeanour of the royalists. They were most of them of the independent school; and those of the lower and middle orders who were known by that denomination, were generally actuated with a fervent religious enthusiasm. Averse as they declared themselves to the conformity and intolerance of the presbyterian system, they indulged in all the wild reveries of

Character
of Fairfax's
army.

^p Rushworth, p. 35, et seqq.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

an ardent temper; each man felt as if he were inspired; each man felt that he was qualified to be a teacher to others. They were equally stimulated by the love of liberty, and the love of that scheme of religious faith which each man espoused. They respected themselves; they believed that they were in a state of grace; and they were incapable of allowing themselves in any thing unworthy of the high calling with which God had honoured them. They were vessels of glory, set apart for the purposes of heaven. As they had these feelings and impulses in common among them, so these feelings and impulses served them as a bond of indissoluble union. They advanced into the field chanting the psalms contained in the scriptures, and fought, as they expressed it, with "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

Manœuvres on each side.

The king, having succeeded in breaking up the siege of Oxford, and having spread a general alarm among those of the adverse party, now resumed his plan of a march towards the north. He had advanced as far as Daventry before he learned that Fairfax had left the siege; but he then turned round, and made shew on the sixth of June as if he intended to attack the town of Northampton⁴. Fairfax was the next day at Newport Pagnel, and four days after, passed

⁴ Walker, p. 129. Rushworth, p. 37. Clarendon, p. 655.

Northampton, advancing^c towards the king's forces, whose head-quarters were at Daventry^r. On the eighth Fairfax and his council of officers addressed a letter to the two houses of parliament, expressing their desire that Cromwel might be made general of the horse (or lieutenant-general of the forces) to Fairfax's army; which was complied with^s. On the twelfth the king, not apprehending the enemy's approach so near, was engaged in taking the diversion of hunting. The next day he began his march for the north, either judging that Fairfax's army would not follow him, or if they did, that he might fight them to more advantage when he had drawn them further from the metropolis^t. The same day Cromwel joined Fairfax^u. The van of the king's army was that night at Harborough, and the rear within two miles of Naseby. Ireton was dispatched with a strong party of horse by Fairfax, to fall on the flank of Charles's army if he found opportunity: and accordingly, in the beginning of the night, he made an attack, took some prisoners, and gave

^r Rushworth, p. 40. In his letter of June 9, Charles observes to the queen: "I may (without being much too sanguine) affirm that, since this rebellion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way." King Charles's Works, Letters, No. 37.

^s Journals, June 10.

^t Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 40, 41. Whitlocke, June 14. Walker, p. 129.

^u Rushworth, p. 41.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

an alarm to the whole army. The king, finding it difficult to bring off his rear, and that in the attempt his whole army might be hazarded, resolved on an engagement for the next morning^w.

Ireton.

Ireton is one of the most eminent characters that occurs in the history of the commonwealth. He was of an ancient family in the county of Nottingham^x; and his brother, sir John Ireton, was lord mayor of London under the protectorate of Cromwel^y. Henry Ireton, of whom we here speak, was one of the seventy-five persons, who, in the commencement of the civil war, undertook each to raise a troop of horse for the service of the parliament^z. At this time there existed a perfect league of friendship between him and Cromwel, which was only terminated by his death in 1651. It is somewhat extraordinary, that at the time of the new model he accepted the appointment of captain in the regiment of horse commanded by Algernon Sidney, who was at least seven years younger than himself^a. His rise however from this period was exceedingly rapid. He is mentioned as a colonel a short time

^w Ibid. Walker, p. 129.

^x Hutchinson's Memoirs, 8vo, Vol. I, p. 148, 209, 210.

^y Wood, art. Ireton.

^z See above, p. 22.

^a Journals of Lords, Mar. 18. Ireton was born in 1610.

after^b; and, at the period of which we are treating, was, by Cromwel's particular request, nominated commissary general of the horse^c, being the second in authority under that distinguished commander. Whitlocke says of him^d, "He was very active and industrious, and of good abilities. He made much use of his pen, wherein his having been bred a lawyer was a help to him. He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel; and was exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. No man could prevail so much with Cromwel, nor order him so far, as Ireton could."

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

In Charles's army the right wing was commanded by Rupert, the centre by the king in person, and the left by sir Marmaduke Langdale. The parliament-army was led, the right by Cromwel, the centre by Fairfax and Skippon, and the left, at Cromwel's particular request, by Ireton^e. The numbers were nearly equal. Rupert and Cromwel fought with similar success. The prince defeated the left wing of the parliament, where Ireton received two wounds, in the face, and the thigh, and was made prisoner; but in the sequel of the battle he escaped^f. Cromwel had no less the advantage against the left wing of the king^f.

Battle of
Naseby.^b Rushworth, Vol. VI, p. 41.^c Ibid. p. 42.^d p. 516.^e Rushworth, p. 42.^f Ibid. p. 43.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1645.

But these two commanders, Cromwel and Rupert, conducted themselves differently. Rupert pursued the flying horse of the parliament, and afterwards vainly amused himself with summoning their park of artillery^g. Cromwel followed the chase for a quarter of a mile, but then turned back to the aid of the main body under Fairfax^g. Here was the most obstinate fighting. The king at first appeared to have the advantage. Skippon was dangerously wounded in the side, and was desired by Fairfax to quit the field, but refused^g. There was this difference observed between the discipline of the king's troops, and those under Fairfax and Cromwel (for the same had not been remarked in the command of Essex and Waller), that, even if the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed the enemy, they could not be brought to rally, and make a second charge on the same day; whereas the adversary, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received further commands^h. At length the whole of Charles's main battle gave way, except one body of foot, which stood like a rock, and could not be moved. Fairfax, perceiving this, ordered his life-guard, which had attacked them before, to repeat the assault, while he himself with his own regiment, should at the same instant fall on

Gallantry
of Fairfax.

^g Ibid. p. 43.

^h Clarendon, Vol. II, p. 658.

their rear, so that they might meet in the middle. This expedient succeeded^l. Fairfax killed the ensign and seized his colours; and one of his soldiers, having taken the flag, boasted of the great service he had performed. His colonel reproved him, and reminded him how many witnesses had seen that it was done by the general himself: but Fairfax replied, Let him retain that honour, I have enough beside^k. The same colonel, seeing the general in the thickest of the fight without his helmet, offered his own, but Fairfax refused it^k. At length, when the infantry of the king's army was wholly defeated, Charles having still a body of horse entire, endeavoured to lead them again to the attack, exclaiming, One charge more, and we recover the day. But the disadvantage they laboured under was too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat^l.

of the king.

The king had eight hundred men slain on the field; the parliament probably as many. But the royalists who were made prisoners were five thousand foot, and three thousand horse. There were also captured the whole of Charles's artillery, eight thousand stand of arms, above one hundred pair of colours, the royal standard, the king's cabinet of letters, his coaches, and the whole spoil of the camp^m.

^l Rushworth, p. 43.

^k Whitlocke, June 14.

^l Rushworth, p. 44.

^m Ibid. Whitlocke, *ubi supra*.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHARLES AT RAGLAND CASTLE.—SIEGE OF TAUNTON RAISED.—BATTLE OF LANGPORT.—SURRENDER OF BRIDGWATER.—HEREFORD BESIEGED BY THE SCOTS.—INFLEXIBILITY OF THE KING.—PROCEEDS NORTHWARD AS FAR AS DONCASTER.—MONTROSE VICTORIOUS AT KILSYTH.—GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH SUBMIT TO HIM.—BRISTOL SURRENDERS TO THE PARLIAMENT.—MONTROSE DEFEATED.—KING AND RUPERT AT NEWARK.—MUTINOUS PROCEEDINGS.—CHARLES WINTERS AT OXFORD.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Leicester
surrendered.

King's cabinet
letters.

DECISIVE as this victory was, it would not have put a close to the war, but for the untemperish conduct of the commanders of the new model.

Four days after the battle, the town of Leicester, being summoned by Fairfax, surrendered, the pieces of artillery taken there being no less numerous than those which had been won at the battle of Naseby^a.

The letters taken in the king's cabinet on the field of battle were immediately made public by

^a Rushworth, p. 50, 51.

the parliament, and served to impress a deep conviction on all those who had opposed his measures, of the perfidiousness of his character^b.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Charles proceeded after the battle in a northern direction. His mind was still fixed upon co-operation with Montrose. Finding that he could not repose himself in safety at Leicester, he proceeded the same night of the engagement to Ashby la Zouch, and the next day to Lichfield. Sir Marmaduke Langdale at the same time retreated upon Newark^c.

Charles
proceeds
northward.

The king however soon became convinced, that it would be too hazardous, attended as he was now with a body of horse only, to attempt to penetrate to the borders of Scotland. He therefore changed his route, fell down upon Bewdley, and from thence upon Hereford. He built with great confidence upon the loyalty of the people of Wales to furnish him with a new army. He could not keep out of his thoughts, that it was on this part of the island that he was to expect his hoped-for reinforcements from Ireland to land. It was at Hereford that the king and Rupert parted, having

Falls back
upon
Wales.

^b Hume is perfectly right in placing his defence of Charles the First upon the sincerity of his dealings. If his professions, his engagements, his most solemn asseverations could have been relied on, it would have been possible to treat with him. The vindicators of the proceedings of the Long Parliament may with abundant security join issue with Hume and the royalists on this question.

^c Walker, p. 132. Rushworth, p. 44.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Charles at
Ragland
Castle.

thus far continued together ever since the battle. Rupert passed the Severn to Bristol, that he might put that place into a state of defence, it being considered as one of the main supporters of the royal cause^d.

From Hereford Charles proceeded to Abergavenny, where he met the commissioners from the six counties of South Wales, and arranged with them the proportion which each should supply, to the amount of five thousand foot, to cooperate with the horse which the king still had under his command^e. This arrangement being made, he retired to Ragland-Castle, the seat of the marquis of Worcester, where he remained for three weeks^f; and, as if the genius of the place had conspired with his fates, was lulled asleep with sports and

^d Walker, p. 132. Clarendon, p. 659.

^e Walker, *ubi supra*. Clarendon, p. 677.

^f Walker, *ubi supra*. Wood says twelve nights: but I have preferred the authority of Walker, who was at this time in constant attendance on Charles. Dr. Thomas Bailly affirms that Charles was at Ragland twice, a month at each time. Conference between King Charles and the Marquis of Worcester, p. 9. This interval of the king's life has become particularly fabulous, from its history having fallen into the hands of an unscrupulous inventor. Dr. Bailly represents Charles as applying through him to the marquis for a loan of three hundred pounds, to buy bread for himself and his followers, and tells us that the lender insisted as a preliminary condition to the loan, that the king should hold a secret conference with him upon the respective merits of the Catholic and Protestant religion. This conference Bailly has put in print, entirely to the

entertainments^g. This, brief period of his life seems to have been spent in complete retirement, with scarcely any thing of the trappings and ceremony of a king. The marquis, who was now near seventy^h, or, according to others, eighty years of ageⁱ, had been the richest subject in England, and was regarded by the parliament with peculiar jealousy, as having in early life become a convert to the Roman Catholic religion. He had lent the king at different times during the civil war one hundred thousand pounds, beside maintaining a garrison, and raising and supporting at two different times two small armies, under the command of his son, the earl of Glamorgan, at his own expence^k. He was at this time of an unwieldy corpulence, but desirous, in every thing he could, of doing honour to his royal guest.

In the mean time Goring, having been dispatched by Charles for that purpose, had renewed the siege of Taunton, and on the sixth of June wrote to the king, assuring him that he should reduce the place in three weeks, and

Siege of
Taunton
raised.

advantage of the Catholic cause, to which the relator soon after declared himself a convert. Other stories, of like authenticity, are narrated by the same author in a book, entitled, *Witty Apophthegms* by King James, King Charles, the Marquis of Worcester, &c. &c. 1658,

^g Walker, *ubi supra*.

^h Wood, art. Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.

ⁱ Sanderson, p. 893.

^k Collins, *Peerage*, art. Duke of Beaufort.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

would then march with a considerable army to his assistance; and intreating that in the interval he would stand on the defensive, and by no means risk a battle till the junction had been effected. This letter was intercepted by Fairfax, and, having come into his hands the day after the battle of Naseby, served as an index to point out to him in what quarter his assistance was most required¹. Taunton was the main point of strength which the parliament possessed in the west; and Blake and his brave garrison were by no means to be sacrificed to the royalists in the present posture of affairs. Colonel Edward Massey, who had distinguished himself so much in the defence of Gloucester in 1643, was, in the May of the present year, appointed by the two houses of parliament commander in chief of the forces in the west of England^m. But he had at this time only three thousand men under him, so that Goring was sufficiently in force, to keep off Massey's army, and at the same time to pursue the operations of the siege. Fairfax therefore ordered his march in that direction: the news of the great

¹ Rushworth, p. 49, 51.

^m Journals. Clarendon says, Vol. II, p. 629, that Massey was one of the officers, who lost their commands by the operation of the self-denying ordinance. But this is not true. He was not elected into parliament till some time afterwards. Journals of Commons, July 9, 1646.

victory he had obtained, went before him : and he had no sooner reached Blandford on the second of July, than Goring withdrew his forces, and broke up the siegeⁿ.

CHAP.
XIX.
1645.

Here the parliamentary general found that he had a new enemy to encounter, in the form of the clubmen. This kind of irregular force, as has already appeared, first assumed the guise of impartiality, and even directed their hostilities principally against the royalists, their purpose being to put down the barbarities and licentiousness of Goring and his followers. But the face of things was now changed. The royalists were no longer formidable as a military force, threatening to give laws to the greater part of the kingdom. They were to a great degree subdued. And their friends saw in the present state of things an opportunity to serve the cause of the king, without abruptly and at once declaring themselves against the parliament. The first body under this denomination that Fairfax encountered as he approached Blandford, had among them one of the Penruddocks, a name afterwards eminent among the king's friends. Penruddock and another he took into custody ; and having examined them, and admonished them to proceed no farther in this business, they were discharged^o.

Fairfax encountered
by the clubmen.

ⁿ Rushworth, p. 52, 54.

^o Rushworth, p. 52.

CHAP.
XIX.1645.
Demands
of the club-
men.

The day following Fairfax proceeded from Blandford to Dorchester. Here he was waited on by Mr. Hollis of Dorsetshire and others, the professed leaders of the clubmen, who submitted to his inspection the petitions they had drawn up, both to the king and the parliament, and demanded of him a safe conduct for certain deputies by whom they were to be presented. The heads of the petitions were, to desire a renewed treaty of peace, with a cessation of arms till it should be effected, as also that the garrisons of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire should be put into their hands, and that all persons now in arms that desired it, should be permitted to retire to their former occupations. In reply to these representations Fairfax answered, that it evidently appeared from the letters of the king and queen taken at Naseby, that the king expected ten thousand men from France, and six thousand from Ireland, to assist him in the prosecution of the war; that under these circumstances for the parliament to surrender the garrisons of Dorsetshire, three of which were sea-ports, into the hands of the petitioners, would be to abandon the trust reposed in them for the good of the kingdom; and that to permit the soldiers to disband and return home, would in like manner amount to a surrender of the power now vested in and exercised by the parliament, to prosecute the war to the termination they all of them desired, a fair and equitable

peace. He therefore rejected their demands, and warned them to forbear from all assembling of the people to a public rendezvous ^p.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Battle of
Langport.

The two armies now faced each other, that of Goring occupying the left, and that of Fairfax the right bank of the river Parret. Goring however gradually withdrew before his adversary, and gave demonstrations of a purpose to fall back upon Bridgwater; but Fairfax forced him into battle at Langport, where Goring was defeated, with the loss of three hundred men killed, and fourteen hundred made prisoners ^q. After the battle the defeated commander retired to Barnstaple ^r.

July 10.

From Langport Fairfax proceeded against Bridgwater, which was held to be a very strong place, and had been pronounced by its governor impregnable. But the army under Fairfax, Cromwel and Massey came before it, and by their vigorous proceedings soon changed the appearance of its fortune. Having summoned the place in vain, they resolved to attempt it by storm. They accordingly took that part of the town which was on the right bank of the river, and proceeded to assault the second town, when the governor sounded a parley, and at length agreed to a surrender on the twenty-third of July, on condition

Surrender
of Bridg-
water.

^p Rushworth, p. 52, 53.

^q Rushworth, p. 55.

^r Clarendon, p. 670.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Inactivity
of Leven's
army.

that the lives of the garrison should be spared, and that the town should be protected from plunder.

The Scots also now put themselves in motion. They had lost the graceful opportunity that had been held out to them in the early part of the campaign, when the parliament pressed them so earnestly to advance towards the south. They lost much of their character and popularity with the bulk of the English nation, and by their recent tardiness to a considerable degree obliterated the benefit which had been derived from their interposition in the early part of the campaign of 1644. The independents had never cordially respected them; and the power of the independents, partly owing to their inactivity and apparent want of interest in the English affairs, had greatly increased. The battle of Naseby gave a new face to the war. The Scots however ultimately advanced, and did too late what they ought to have done before.

They take
Carlisle.

Carlisle at length surrendered to their arms on the twenty-eighth of June, and about the same time their main army advanced as far as Nottingham; and from thence by a speedy progress to Tamworth, and to Birmingham. They stormed Cannon Frome, a garrison of the king,' on the

' Rushworth, p. 56, et seqq. Clarendon, p. 678, 679.

twenty-second of July,* and at the close of that month sat down before Hereford †.

In the same month Pomfret and Scarborough were reduced by the detachments the parliament had sent to besiege them †.

A particular which likewise belongs to this period, is a fresh sitting of the mock parliament at Oxford. This is so utterly obscure and insignificant, that it is barely mentioned by one historian †.

The events which had occurred, and especially the news of the fight at Langport, and the capture of Bridgwater, at length roused Charles from the supineness into which he seemed to have sunk amidst the shades of Ragland. The approach of the Scots also was sufficiently alarming. The king had waited in the hope to learn something of succours from Ireland or France; but none came, or for the present were heard of. He had only within his immediate command a body of horse and foot, about two thousand, under the direction of Gerrard, governor of South Wales, and a body of horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale †. The promised reinforcements to be collected in Wales had almost entirely failed; and the few that were raised, together with the greater part of the foot under Gerrard, were drained off

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.
and besiege
Hereford.
Pomfret
and Scar-
borough
reduced.
Anti-par-
liament at
Oxford.

Charles
thinks of
taking the
field.

† Rushworth, p. 118, 120, 122.

† Ibid. p. 118.

† Whitlocke, July 1.

† Walker, p. 132, 133.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Royalists
urge the
king to pro-
pose a com-
promise to
the parlia-
ment.

by Rupert to assist him in the defence of Bristol ^y. Charles had two or three times entertained the thought of crossing the Severn in person, and placing himself at the head of his western forces, and had even come as far as Chepstow about the last days of July in execution of that purpose ^y. But the undertaking appeared too desperate, and the king drew off to Cardiff.

It was at this time that he was beset with a resistless tide of expostulators, beseeching him that he would at length in good earnest think of peace, depart from those inflexible terms in which through good and ill fortune he had hitherto persisted, and endeavour to obtain conditions from the parliament, while he had yet some appearance of a military force, and before his adversaries should be in a posture rigidly to prescribe to him whatever terms they pleased. The interest of the king and his followers at this time seemed to coincide. The greater part of them had long been tired of the war. It called on them for great sacrifices, and exposed them to every kind of adversity. And now they appeared to have sufficient reason to urge Charles, for his own sake, as well as for theirs, to withdraw from a fruitless contest. The commissioners of all the counties, who were the persons of the greatest weight, as well as of the most unquestionable attachment to

^y Walker, p. 132, 133.

the royal cause, were fully of this sentiment. The same views and temper declared themselves on every side. At length even Rupert, the disdainful and imperious Rupert, the young soldier in all the pride of command, who knew nothing out of the field, and "little of this great world could discourse, more than pertains to feats of broil and battle," a foreigner, who had no sympathies with the people upon whom he sought to impose the despotic yoke of his stiff-necked uncle, even he unbended the pride of his spirit, and wrote a letter to the king, intreating him to yield to the universal sentiment, and to embrace the counsels of sober prudence and genuine wisdom.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.
Rupert
joins in the
expostulation.

Such overtures would perhaps have been attended with no success. But they would have been of the most essential service to the royal cause. They would, if refused, have administered energy, and passion, and conviction, to those who followed the standard of the king. They would insensibly have won him favour with all those moderate and reasonable men who had been repelled by his inflexibility. And they would have shaken the strength of the parliament, even in its head-quarters. The presbyterians were anxious for a composition, as the only practicable method for enfeebling the independents, and baffling projects which they regarded

Soundness
of this ad-
vice.

^y Clarendon, p. 679.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

with horror. In every community there is a vast portion of its individuals, who are with great difficulty roused to contend, and who are eager to return to the indulgences of peace, the moment a reasonable pretence is offered to them to do so. These would immediately have become openly or secretly favourers of the king. The enthusiasts for civil and religious liberty would soon have been left to themselves; and it is not to be imagined that under these circumstances they would have succeeded in their views.

Charles's
reply.

On the third of August the king wrote an answer to Rupert, and on the day following a letter to Nicholas on the same subject, both dated from Cardiff². In both he makes a point of declaring, that no distresses of fortune shall ever make him go beyond the concessions offered in his name at Uxbridge. He confesses to Rupert, that, if he had any other quarrel than the defence of his religion, his crown, and his friends, there were full reason for the advice that was offered him; that, as a soldier, or a statesman, he could see no probability but of his ruin; but that God would not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper, or this cause to be overthrown. He therefore intreats the prince in no wise to hearken after treaties,

² King Charles's Works, Letters, No. 38, 39. There is a copy of the letter to Rupert in the Journals of the Lords (Oct. 30), which has the date of July 31.

and adds that the very imagination that Rupert was desirous of a treaty would but ruin the cause so much the sooner. He therefore adjures him, whatever opinions he had hitherto delivered, for the future to apply his discourse according to the king's resolution and judgment herein expressed.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

At Cardiff Charles proposed the relief of Hereford, now besieged by the Scots, and got together three or four thousand new recruits for that purpose. But the king's power was now reduced so low, and those who exercised it in his name were so unpopular, that the concourse which thus took place only served as a signal for them to represent the grievances under which they laboured. To comply with their desires Charles removed Gerrard from the government of South Wales; but his compliance was accompanied with such testimonies of partiality to the individual removed, that the complaining party felt themselves offended, more than they were gratified ^a.

Gerrard
dismissed
from his
appoint-
ment.

At length Charles gave up his project for the relief of Hereford in despair, and dismissed the auxiliaries, whom he repented of having called together. At this extremity he resolved at the head of the horse of Gerrard and Langdale, to endeavour to force his way to the borders of Scotland. The successes of Montrose he apprehended as opening to him a sunshine of hope on that side.

Charles
marches
north as far
as Don-
caster.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

He succeeded in his design of passing the Scottish quarters unobserved, and made good his march as far as Welbeck in Nottinghamshire. Here the king was joined by the garrison which had lately surrendered at Pomfret; he drew some reinforcement out of Newark; and the gentlemen of Yorkshire seemed to take up his cause with so much zeal, that there was an immediate prospect of his having under him a body of three thousand foot, in addition to the horse that he had brought with him. But this circumstance occasioned a change in his councils. He had originally proposed by a rapid march to join Montrose in Scotland; it was now suggested that a place of meeting with that successful leader should be named in England, rather than that Charles should seek him out in Scotland. The king had already penetrated as far as Doncaster^b.

Retraces
his steps,
and comes
to Oxford.

But, though the Scots had failed in molesting Charles's march thus far into the north, their general, the earl of Leven, now dispatched David Leslie, with nearly the whole of his horse, in pursuit of him. He had already reached Rotherham, ten miles from Doncaster. Poyntz and Rossiter at the same time were advancing with a body of English horse, which with the Scots would amount to ten thousand. The king now felt it impossible to prosecute the design which

^b Walker, p. 134, 135.

had brought him thus far into the north, and fell back upon Newark. From thence he proposed to proceed to Oxford. But, as Charles's force consisted entirely of horse, he was enabled by that means to make very rapid marches, and to assail any weak point of the enemy that fell in his way. At Stamford he heard of some forces collecting for the parliament near Huntingdon, and he accordingly turned aside from his route, and entered that place on the twenty-fourth of August. He however made no stay at Huntingdon, and arrived at Oxford on the twenty-ninth^c.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

It is now time to turn once again to Montrose, upon whom the attention of the royalists at this time was so anxiously fixed. Since the battle of Auldearn in which he defeated Hurry, he had fought another with like success against general Baillie at Alford on the second of July. These uninterrupted successes at length encouraged him to penetrate further south than he had yet adventured to do. The Scottish parliament met, pursuant to their adjournment, at Stirling on the day of the battle of Alford, the pestilence then raging at Edinburgh; and, the contagion still advancing, they removed their sittings on the twenty-fourth to Perth. Hither Montrose proceeded with his army, and gave alarm to the city. He did not however make this the limit of his progress:

Montrose
victorious
at Alford.

^c Walker, p. 135, 136. Whitlocke, Aug. 18, 25.

CHAP.
XIX.1645.
Battle of
Kilsyth.

he marched up to the walls of Stirling, and then, crossing the Forth, conducted his army as far as Kilsyth. The covenanters did not think it politic to allow him to penetrate further into the south, and therefore determined once more on a battle. There seems to have been great dissensions in the army of the government, the command being partly in the military chief, and partly in a committee of the parliament, one party approving one mode of proceeding, and another directing another. This circumstance, together with the terror of the name of Montrose; and, more than all, the energy of his mind, and the resources of his genius, determined the fate of the day. The army of the parliament was seven thousand men; Montrose's not so many. The battle of Kilsyth however, which was fought on the fifteenth of August, was of a much more decisive character than those which had preceded; and the forces which opposed Montrose appear to have been almost entirely destroyed in the field and the pursuit^d.

Glasgow
and Edin-
burgh sub-
mit to
Montrose.

The consequences of this victory seemed to be decisive. The whole kingdom appeared prostrate at the feet of the conqueror. He entered Glasgow in triumph; Edinburgh sent commissioners to implore his clemency, and to submit to such terms as he should think proper to pre-

^d Wishart, Cap. xi, xij, xiii. Guthry, p. 189, et seqq.

scribe. He was declared by a special commission from the king captain-general and deputy-governor of Scotland; and he issued a proclamation for a new parliament to sit at Glasgow in October. Almost all the nobility came in, in sincerity or semblance, to make their submissions to him. Those who would accept no compromise, Argyle, the chancellor Loudon, Lanerk, and others, fled to Berwick, there to consult how they might recover the power they had lost^e.

CHAP.
XIX.
1645.

Their principal resource was to issue their commands to the Scots army before Hereford, that an effectual reinforcement might be sent to them. David Leslie with the entire body of the Scottish horse was once more sent out on this expedition. He reached the Tweed on the sixth of September^f.

Leven's
cavalry
called home
by the cove-
nanters.

On his arrival at Oxford the king heard that Fairfax had set himself down before Bristol; but this seems for a time to have occasioned no alarm. The first project in which Charles engaged was for the relief of Hereford, the besieging army being considerably weakened by the departure of David Leslie and the horse^g. The king's force consisted

He raises
the siege of
Hereford.

^e Guthrie, p. 194, et seqq.

^f Rushworth, p. 231.

^g Clarendon tells the story (Vol. II, p. 692) as if Leslie had been on his march for Scotland when he overtook the king at Doncaster, and that he had not the slightest expectation of encountering Charles's forces in that quarter. But the dates alone are a sufficient refutation of that statement. Walker, who was with the king, says, p. 136, he was "sent in pursuit of us." See further, Journals of Lords, Aug. 15, 26.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Bristol sur-
renders to
the parlia-
ment.

entirely of the cavalry of Langdale and Gerrard. Leven did not wait for Charles's arrival, but upon hearing of his approach broke up the siege^h.

This enterprise being accomplished, the king next proposed to cross the Severn to the assistance of Rupert, and while arrangements were making for that purpose, once more went to spend a few days in retirement at Ragland. Here the news reached him of the surrender of Bristol on the eleventh of Septemberⁱ. Thus suddenly and unexpectedly did he lose one of the principal remaining supports of his falling power. Rupert relied for the vindication of his conduct upon his inadequate means of defence, and the improbability of any effectual relief^k. He was perhaps partly influenced by the obstinacy with which Charles had resisted advice, and the impossibility of substantially serving a party so entirely blinded to his real situation.

Charles de-
feated at
Chester.

After the receipt of this intelligence, the king remained a week at Hereford, undetermined what should be his next undertaking. At length he resolved once more to resume his march into the north, in the hope to form a junction with the victorious Montrose. He directed his course by the rude mountains of North Wales, that he might avoid interruption from the enemy, and advanced as far as Chester without molestation^l. Here how-

^h Walker, p. 136. Rushworth, p. 123, et seqq. ⁱ Walker, p. 137.

^k Rushworth, p. 69, et seqq. ^l Walker, p. 138, 139.

ever it so happened that Charles's forces were hemmed in between two parties, the parliament troops that besieged Chester, and the followers of Poyntz, who, as soon as he was informed of the king's route, proceeded by the smoother and shorter way, and in consequence reached the besieged city almost as soon as he. Charles now suffered an essential disaster, having lost six hundred men slain in the fight, and one thousand taken prisoners^m. This happened about the end of September. From Chester the king retreated to Denbigh; and here he received intelligence of the reverse that had fallen on Montroseⁿ.

This chieftain, by the resources of his genius and his unwearied exertions, had maintained himself in Scotland, and proved a perpetual annoyance to the covenanters, for twelve months. At the end of that time he gained a memorable victory, which seemed to put the whole kingdom in his power. But this appearance was deceitful. In the latter part of 1644, and the beginning of 1645, his power extended no further than the spot occupied by his army, and he no sooner removed from one place to another, than the place he had left returned to its former condition. If he desired to reoccupy it, he had to go through the same process as before. He retained no strong fortress; he planted no garrison. In the battle of Kilsyth

Precarious
Situation of
Montrose.

^m Rushworth, p. 117.

ⁿ Walker, p. 141.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

he in a manner annihilated the army of the enemy; Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other considerable places were obliged to submit to the terms he thought proper to prescribe. But all this scarcely forwarded the object he had in view. His troops, never numerous, dispersed themselves after every victory, and went home to enjoy the plunder they had acquired.

He loses his accustomed watchfulness and caution.

After the battle of Kilsyth the military character of Montrose seemed to sustain a total change. He had hitherto effected every thing principally by the rapidity of his motions. He came upon the enemy when he was least expected; he disappeared and was gone, before they had time to recollect themselves. But now his usual caution forsook him: he appeared to think that he no longer stood in need of those stratagems and that vigilance, which had hitherto carried him safe through every danger. He was informed of the approach of David Leslie and his horse, and that they had already crossed the Tweed; he still continued his march to the south. At length, with forces greatly reduced in number, he encountered the enemy at Philiphaugh in Ettrick Forest, and sustained a total defeat. This happened on the thirteenth of September. He retired to the highlands, and to the north of Scotland, to raise new armies, and meditate new enterprises, which came to nothing^o.

He is routed, and driven to flight.

^o Wishart, Cap. xv, xvi. Guthry, p. 198, et seqq.

In consequence of this intelligence, and the check his troops had received under the walls of Chester, the king was reduced to a distressing condition. He first conceived the project of wintering in the isle of Anglesea. This was held to be a place of sufficient defence, and of a capacity to maintain his troops; it lay also opportunely for those succours which he hourly expected from Ireland, and for enabling him to endeavour the preservation of Chester. Upon the whole however it was judged that Charles yet possessed too considerable a footing in the kingdom, to admit of the propriety of his retreating into an insignificant island; and having changed his purpose, he outmanœuvred Poyntz, and reached Bridgnorth in his road to Worcester^p.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Charles returns to the south.

At this time the councils of the king were almost under the single direction of lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who had succeeded to the office of secretary of state upon the death of lord Falkland in the first battle of Newbury. Digby was held to be a man of splendid abilities; but there was an inconstancy in his temper, ever delighted with whatever new project suggested itself, that had hitherto caused all his measures to fail of success. He had prompted Charles to write a letter to Rupert, instantly upon hearing of the surrender of Bristol, revoking all his commis-

Character of lord Digby.

Charles by his advice dismisses Rupert from all his employments.

^p Walker, p. 141, 142.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

sions, and directing that without delay he should leave the kingdom⁹. This was judged by all sober and moderate men to be a precipitate proceeding; and Rupert, with the gallantry of a soldier, and the pride of conscious fidelity, determined, instantly to repair to his uncle, and require from him either an open trial, or a direct exculpation from the foul charges which this letter implied.

Digby, we are told, shrank from the idea of encountering the prince, and trying face to face which should be found to have the greatest influence and weight with their mutual sovereign. He therefore prevailed with the king, to leave Worcester on one side, where prince Maurice was governor, and direct his retreat to Newark, where at least he should be at a greater distance from the storm. Here a rumour was brought, that Montrose had returned once more upon David Leslie, had given him a signal defeat, and was again on the boundary of the two kingdoms. This was enough for Digby. He prompted the king afresh to march to the north, and attempt a junction with this wonderful adventurer. When Charles had advanced as far as Welbeck, he there met the contradiction of the rumour which had been so lightly credited. It was now decided in council that he should proceed no further.¹ The next morning however it was proposed by the

Digby sent
to join
Montrose.

⁹ Clarendon, p. 694.

king in person, that, while he fell back upon Newark, fifteen hundred horse should proceed under Digby and Langdale toward Scotland. At Sherborne in Yorkshire they were met by the parliamentarians and defeated on the fifteenth of October. In spite of this check however they proceeded, and penetrated as far as Dumfries; but there, finding the condition of Montrose to be hopeless, the leaders shipped themselves for the isle of Man, leaving their followers to provide for their safety as they could; and, in no long time further, Digby passed over to Dublin^r.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Is defeated
at Sher-
borne.

Passes over
to Dublin.

Very shortly after the king's return to Newark, he received information of the approach of Rupert and his friends. The prince appears to have rested at Belvoir Castle, ten miles short of Newark. Charles wrote to him there, in the usual style of an irritated monarch, commanding him to stay where he was, till he heard further. Rupert slighted this intimation, and proceeded. Sir Richard Willis, governor of Newark, and general Gerrard, hearing of his approach, went out with an hundred horse two miles, to meet him. Upon his arrival he immediately repaired to the royal presence^s. And Charles found himself compelled to summon a council of war to hear and pronounce upon Rupert's defence; the

Rupert
comes to
Newark.

^r Walker, p. 142, et seqq. Rushworth, p. 128, 130, 133, 134.

^s Walker, p. 145, 146.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Mutinous
proceed-
ings at that
place.

result of which was a mitigated sentence of acquittal, declaring him not guilty of the least want of courage and fidelity in the discharge of his trust ^t.

But the matter did not end here. A few days after this, the king thought proper to remove sir Richard Willis from the government of Newark. Charles intimated this to him, with various complimentary circumstances, in the morning. After dinner the princes Rupert and Maurice, with Willis, Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, came into the presence. Willis complained of his removal as a dishonour that was put upon him. Rupert said the measure had been resolved on, because Willis was his friend; and Gerrard added, that it was a plot of lord Digby, whom he would prove to be a traitor. Charles desired Willis to follow him into his bed-chamber; but he replied, that the injury he had received was public, and the satisfaction must be so too. The king at length found it necessary to assert himself, and drove them from his presence ^u. Thus a prince, who could not resolve to part with the smallest atom of the most exaggerated prerogative, now saw himself, in the decline of his fortune, insulted by those from whom he had expected the utmost devotion to his service.

Having proceeded to this extremity, Rupert

^t Rushworth, p. 84.

^u Walker, p. 146, 147.

and the rest of the mutineers found it necessary to withdraw themselves from Newark. They applied for passes to go abroad, which were granted. Rupert, Maurice and Gerrard had an audience of leave ^w. From Wiverton, a place not far from Newark, they addressed a letter to the two houses of parliament, dated 29 October, desiring similar passes, which were readily granted them ^x.

A few days later, the king set out on his last march from Newark to Oxford, at the head of four or five hundred horse ^y. Thus slenderly provided, it seems to have been thought proper, that he should proceed as much as possible *incognito*; and accordingly, before he set out, he caused the hair of his beard to be clipped, that his person might the less easily be recognised ^z. At Oxford he passed a melancholy and disconsolate winter. The towns of Devizes and Winchester, and the castles of Basing and Berkeley quickly followed the fate of Bristol ^a; and Chepstow and Monmouth fell not long after ^b. Hereford was taken by surprise on the eighteenth of December ^c. Oxford, Worcester, Chester and Newark were now almost all the considerable places that remained to the king.

After applying for passports to leave the king-

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

Rupert
proposes to
pass over to
the conti-
nent.

Charles
winters at
Oxford.

Rupert
joins him in
that city.

^w Walker, p. 147, 148. ^x Journals, Nov. 1. ^y Walker, p. 148.

^z Wagstaff, Vindication of Charles, 1711. p. 90.

^a Rushworth, p. 90, et seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 128.

^c Ibid. p. 134. Walker, p. 150.

CHAP.
XIX.

1645.

dom, Rupert appears to have hesitated. He wrote again to the parliament from Worcester on the seventeenth of November, requesting that his passes might allow him the alternative, either to go abroad, or to remain in such part of the kingdom as he might think fit, he engaging not to do any thing to the prejudice of the parliament. But this enlargement of the discretion to be granted him was refused^d. He contrived therefore, through the mediation of friends, to be admitted to come to the king at Oxford, and after suitable submissions was restored to Charles's favour^e.

^d Journals, Nov. 22.^e Walker, p. 150.*Addition to note (f), page 108.*

The story is thus told by Carte, *Life of Ormond*, page 357.

"Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of great courage and military skill, eminent by his quality and interest in his country, and of high honour, attended the king with a petition. Sir Thomas was on his knees when he presented the petition; and the king, being on horseback, and not liking the matter of it, turned off so angrily and suddenly, that his horse had like to have trampled that gentleman under foot, and, notwithstanding all he could do to save himself, he did not escape being hurt."

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

